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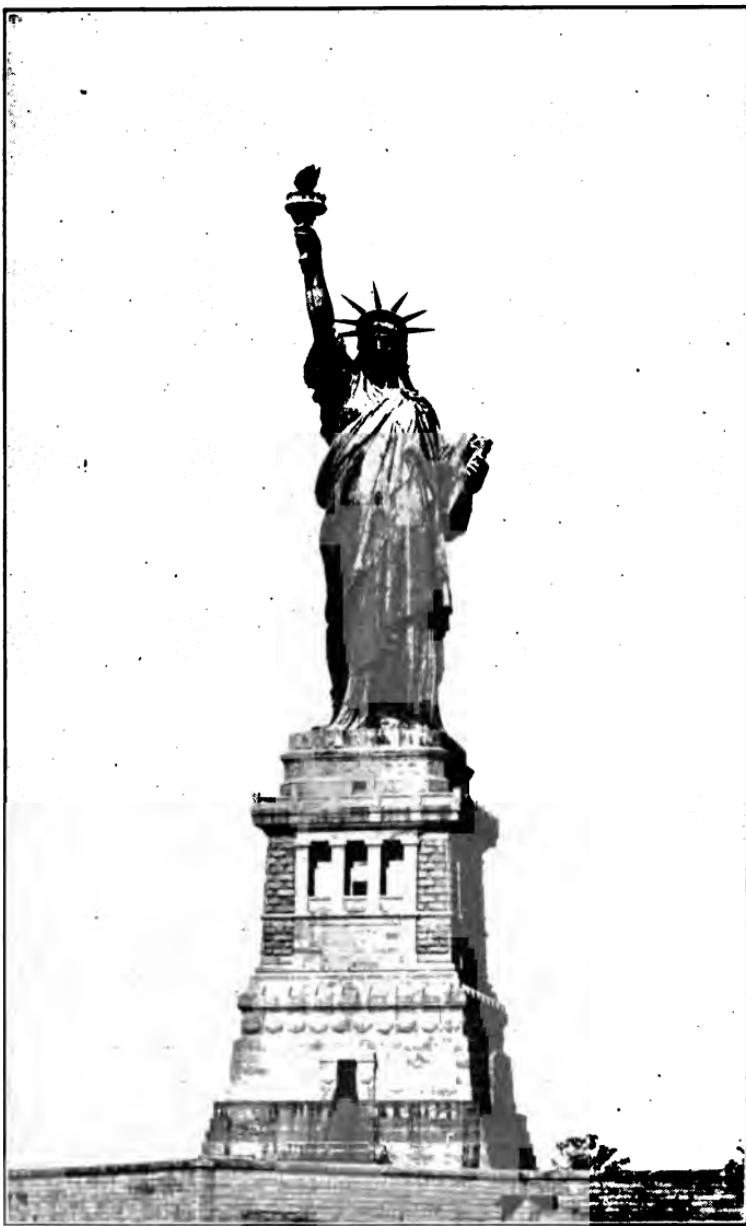
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Jim las



Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor

THE NEW AMERICAN CITIZEN

THE ESSENTIALS OF CIVICS
AND ECONOMICS

BY

CHARLES F. DOLE



D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS
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1919

THE VIMU
MAGAZINE

PREFACE

THE purpose of this book includes more than merely to give important facts about our Government. We want our youth to know the ethics of good citizenship. We wish them to see how splendid and costly good government is. We wish them to get an idea, not only of the admirable theory of our American Republic, but of the difficulties that we meet in making the theory work. We cannot bear to have our pupils leave school only to find, when they begin to vote and to exercise their rights and duties as citizens, that our theory is one thing and our practice different, and even contradictory to the fine theory. We wish to send our pupils into the actual work of citizenship prepared to work out a better ordered, more successful, and more practical government than the world has ever seen. If men have ever expressed their doubts as to whether our government was a success, we wish the generation of youth now in our schools to disprove this pessimistic talk. We desire them to be not only intelligent citizens, but enthusiastic, active, and helpful members of our great Nation.

The book, therefore, takes rather a wide scope. It touches all sorts of neighborly relations and duties. We are coming to see as never before the unity of all human relations. The business of government is not an isolated thing, nor is it a fixed and finished scheme. It is constantly changing and growing, like a live thing. It has a beginning in the family and home; it touches every neighborly relation; it is concerned with the uses, the getting, spending, saving, and holding of money, and the rightful distribution of property. In a large and real sense of the word "politics," it reaches

out to a good part of a citizen's life. We talk of "social ethics," but what ethics are not social? And what social interest is outside the domain of civics or politics? In every civilized country vast questions of industrial democracy are discussed in the congresses of the world. These great questions of government are both economic and political. We cannot afford to let our boys and girls grow up without some glimpse of these larger meanings of citizenship. They cannot be good citizens unless they learn to think intelligently how to serve the common welfare. Thus at all points the study of government and the study of ethics are one.

I have much sympathy with those who doubt how far it is possible to teach citizenship from a book. But no one doubts the immense service that high-minded and live teachers may render. A book may help such teachers and their pupils too. The good teacher will never make the study dry task work. He will count on the natural appetite which young people of school age normally possess for the subjects comprised in the book. It may be so used as to be a lesson in English and in reading aloud. It should stimulate the habit of criticism and straight thinking, greatly needed in all schools. Let the class be encouraged freely to ask questions and to express their thought. This ought to tend toward the exercise of sound reason and justice. It is thus that a democratic government has to be carried on. The author will be glad to hear from any school where statements in the book seem to need correction or improvement in accuracy or clearness. Meanwhile let the teacher occasionally remind the class in his own way that no little book, suitable perhaps to introduce young people to the most complicated subjects, can do more than bring their minds to the threshold of the great temple. To recognize how great and beautiful the structure is may be in itself a lesson in modesty. Here old and young are learners together. New questions, or perhaps old questions in new forms, are

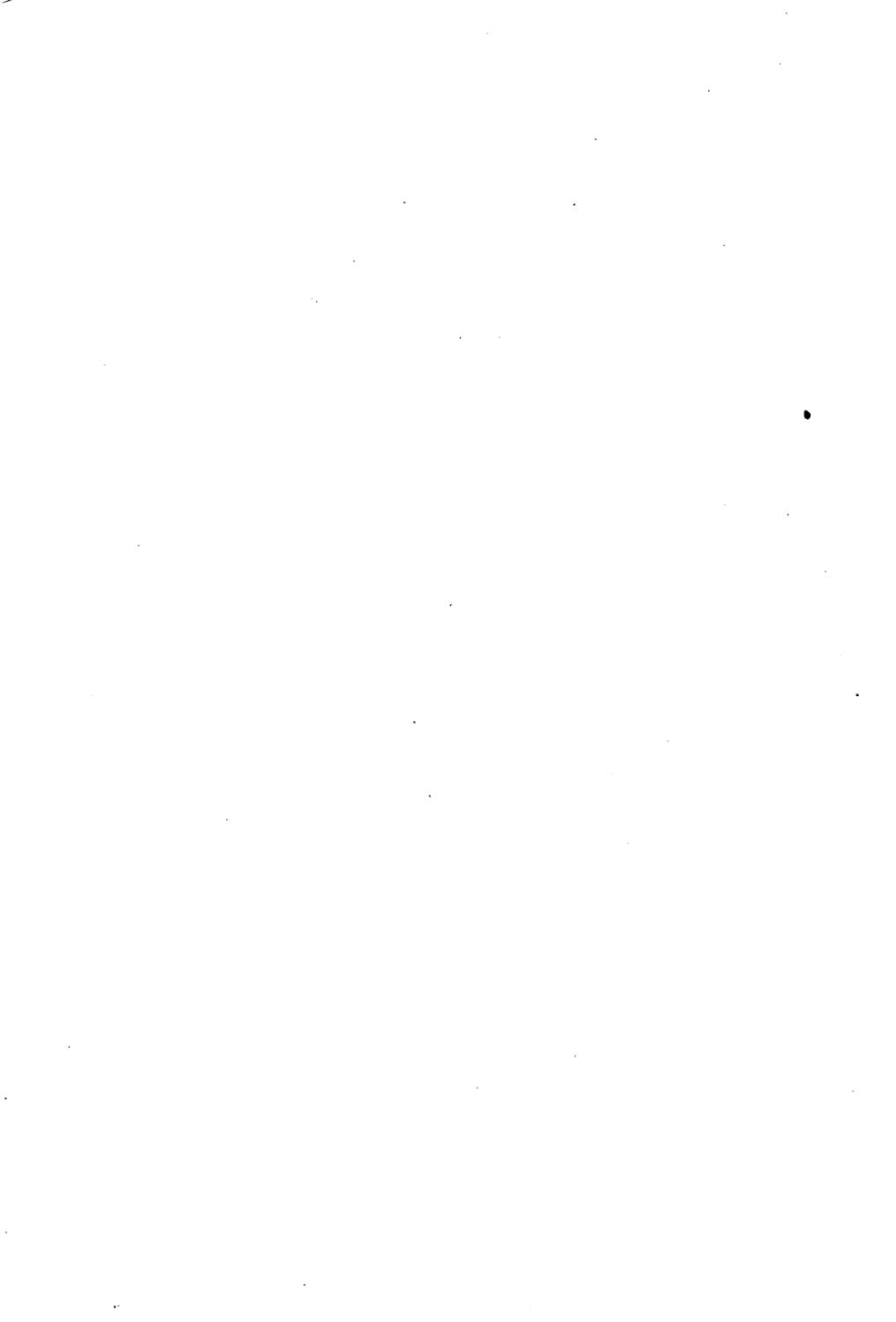
likely to come to view any day to challenge the best equipped minds and to crush the pride of anyone who thinks he "knows it all."

I have tried to prepare this book in close sympathy with the fundamental ideas which constitute the democratic faith of mankind. In touching upon political and other subjects upon which men and parties differ, I have thought the only way is to state fairly both sides. The young people, soon to be voters, ought not to be either ignorant or prejudiced. They need, what all men need, to understand the facts, and especially to realize the convictions and principles which are at the root of all sound political thinking. I have not hesitated, however, everywhere to insist upon the ideals of a just democracy as the only scheme of successful coöperation in government or industry suited to a civilized life.

The book is published in war time. No one is likely to read it who will not sympathize with the aim "to make the world safe for democracy." This means that all democratic peoples are bound to make wars impossible for those who come after us. We cannot do this by mere outside force or compulsion, or without catching the mighty spirit of humanity which is drawing men's hearts together everywhere.

CHARLES F. DOLE.

Jamaica Plain, Mass., 1918.



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A Typical Schoolroom

THE NEW AMERICAN CITIZEN

PART I THE BEGINNINGS OF CITIZENSHIP

CHAPTER I

WHERE WE BEGIN: "WHAT FOR?"

WE often ask and we ought to ask: "What for?" or "Why?" Why, for instance, do we come to school? Why are parents willing to spend so much money that children may get an education? It costs our nation hundreds of millions of dollars a year to support the schools. In many places it costs as much as a hundred dollars a year for every scholar in the high school. Often the public schools have the biggest and finest buildings in town. To take care of them is costly. Where does all this money come from? Why are people willing to pay it?

The schools help young people to earn their living and to enjoy life; the more they go to school, the brighter their minds grow and the more capable they become. A boy or girl who goes through the public schools can earn perhaps four or five times as much money as he could if he had left school in the middle of the grammar course. If he learns to read intelligently, everything that man knows is open to him. Is not this reason enough why we have costly schools?

2 THE BEGINNINGS OF CITIZENSHIP

No. There is a greater reason why we go to school. What if the young people learned all sorts of good things and yet grew up mean, selfish, and quarrelsome, or idle and dishonest? What if they learned to make money and used it to gain advantage over those who have no money? What if they despised their fellow citizens or the people over the sea? What if they got the offices and honors and then used their power to oppress others and to be "grafters"? In a word, what if after they had got their education they were *bad* citizens?

You see, we want good and useful citizens more than anything else. In other words, we need patriots—not patriots for a little while only, or to fight for the country, but good patriots all the time. There is no subject, therefore, in all the school course so great and so interesting as true American citizenship.

Certain important words.—We hear almost every day the words *government*, *authority*, *democracy*, *civilization*, *liberty*, the *nation*, and others like them. What do they mean? They are so big that it takes a long time to understand them. Thus, *government* reminds us of law and order, and of some one who governs a state, or steers a ship, or arranges a room, or straightens out a tangle or a quarrel. There is government of a country, and there is self-government, when a man learns how to control himself. *Authority* also reminds us of a king, a president, a mayor, the master of a school. You can think of many whose business it is to manage or govern or direct others. What, then, is *liberty* or *freedom*? Can you have liberty, if some one else has authority to direct you? Certainly, provided you see the reason why some one — for example, a father, or a

teacher — must have authority, and you choose to obey it. It is as if an engine could choose to stay on the track instead of jumping the rails and being wrecked. Thus we have authority, or a will over ourselves, to control what we do; and we agree to follow our captain, or to do whatever the law of the land bids, if we think it is a good law. We can always be free if it is our own choice to obey a good authority.

Democracy and civilization. — Democracy means a whole and almost new and very beautiful view of life in every direction. It is a grand scheme of coöperation, in which every one is a sharer and helper. Every one is needed; every one has a place and a use for whatever he knows how to do. Government thus becomes "team work" on a grand scale. The laws of our government are our laws. It is a part of our liberty to like to obey them. This will be plainer as we go on.

Civilization is the chief work or the business of all mankind. The idea is to make this world a fit and happy place for men to live in, to arrange a better world than ever was in the past, and to leave the world happier than we found it. We want to accomplish something for the sake of the children who will come after us. We are ashamed to think of doing nothing except to get a selfish living for ourselves. We propose to give and to do more than barely to pay back what has been spent on us. This is the enterprise of civilization; *democracy* is the coöperative or "team" method by which we expect to succeed. A few people here and there have already tried to see how they could make the world better off; the time has now come when all the people must take hold of the enterprise together.

The Nation, or our country. — Perhaps the best word to help describe what we mean by the Nation is the Commonwealth. This is the democratic name of the State. It means the common property and therefore the business of us all — of the children no less than the grown-up people. Our country is that part of the world which we are specially set to civilize and to make happier, richer, and better. The United States has the first claim on us, not Canada or Russia. As soon, however, as we discover how great the work of American civilization is, we begin to have sympathy with the other peoples of the world who have each in their several commonwealths the same kind of enterprise. We want to succeed and we want them to succeed; for wherever there is any poor, or oppressed, or starving nation or people, this concerns us and makes our load heavier in the United States. We cannot do our part well unless all the other nations are working on the same lines. Thus, we have in our minds a splendid Commonwealth of the nations of the world some time in the future, which we who live now plan and hope that those who come after us will see.

Citizenship. — There is a great word which needs to come in right here. What is it to be a citizen? It is not enough to be born in the country, or to take out citizen's papers, and to have your name on the voting lists. To be a citizen means to be a member, a partner, a sharer, a fellow-worker in the business of the Commonwealth or Nation. To be a citizen means that you have the purpose of a citizen "to make good." American citizens are not here to get what they can for themselves, or their relatives, or their party, but they are

here to help in the effort of civilization — that is, to make better and kinder the part of the world where they live.

We have begun by using great and difficult words, because we have to go on and apply them over and over, and to learn them better. We shall have occasion to repeat them in various ways. We in the United States have a great history and a great opportunity. The time has come to give a new and larger meaning to our democracy and to our American Citizenship.

CHAPTER II

IN TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP: THE HOME

WE come under government as soon as we are born. It is the government of the family. One of our first lessons is to obey the authority of parents or guardians. We find at once that we cannot do as we please, but that others besides ourselves must be regarded. So with the property of the home, which must not be injured or wasted. If we disobey, if we hurt other people; if we injure the house and its furniture and try to do as we please, we immediately get into trouble.

Obedience. — We have to obey this family government whether we understand the reasons for it or not. Even if it were not always just, the children would still have to obey. But there must be some deep reasons for this. One of these reasons is the welfare of the child. We all see this for young children; since they do not know what is good for themselves, there must be some authority to protect them from themselves. For the child's own good, he must not be suffered to do harm to himself. It is hard to tell precisely when the child knows so well what is good for himself that he does not need to obey the parents' authority any longer; but it has been found in the experience of many generations that, on the whole, while the child is still growing, that is, to the age of twenty-one years, it is best that the authority of the parents should continue. The laws of the state provide for this. The parent, if not

always wise, is likely to know much better than the child what is good for him. There might be an exceptional child wiser than his parents; but we have to make rules in view of the good of all children.

The common welfare. — Another reason for the family government is for the sake of justice to others. Suppose a boy hurts his brother, or disturbs the household with noise; would it be right to allow him to continue to annoy others? Indeed, every intelligent child has a good and reasonable side; when you appeal to his sense of fairness, he would not thank you for letting him do harm to others. His true self would vote that he ought to be stopped, by force if necessary. A parent might even lay down an unwise rule, and an older child might think that he knew better than the parent; nevertheless, the harm that disobedience does to the family is so great that the older child ought, for the good of all, still to obey.

A third reason why we obey parents is that they have to bear the responsibility of the family, to provide a home and the means of support, and to take the blame and loss that might arise from an unruly household. There is another and better reason why we honor and obey our parents as long as we live — this is because they love us; but we do not like to be told that we ought to give them this kind of regard, since at our best we give it freely.

Discipline or punishment. — What can we do if a child will not obey? Suppose it is a little child, too young to know why he ought to obey; or suppose an older child is in a rage, or in a selfish mood, or sullen, or obstinate. We cannot let him hurt himself, or do

violence to others, or keep the whole family waiting until he recovers his good temper. The fact is, that he is not now his best or true self; he is like a horse that has lost his head and is running away; so the angry or sullen child has lost his good temper, which is the best part of him. He needs help, as if he were ill; or restraint, as when we send a sick person to bed. The treatment which we give for disobedience is called *punishment*. We give it for the sake of the wrong-doer, in order to keep him from doing more harm and to cure his disobedience, and for the sake of the common welfare. As soon as he is "all there" again and has recovered his good temper, he will very likely agree that we did right to punish him.

We have to be careful how we use this word *punish*. What if the older or stronger person who has the authority is vexed and impatient and angry, and loses his temper, and then punishes or strikes the child? Punishment then takes on a bad meaning; two people are now out of sorts — the child and the older one too. What is necessary so that punishment will do good and not harm? Sympathy and consideration. The object of discipline is to help the backward or unruly ones to be effective members of the little commonwealth of the home.

One kind of discipline comes from outside of us. Thus, a child may be shut up in his room, or, if he cannot remember to come home promptly from school, his liberty to go out of the yard may be taken away, until he can be trusted again. But the best kind of discipline is the kind which changes our will, so that it becomes a good will instead of a disobedient one. This happens when we see for ourselves what disobedience does, how

it costs money to pay for broken windows, how it pains our parents and brings unhappiness to every one, and in fact makes us worse than useless as members of the family.

We do not wish to inflict punishment when once the child has sense enough to see what it is for and to "take his own medicine." Discipline from the outside is not very good even for animals. A child soon ought not to need punishment, any more than his parents do. It will be a pain to him to do ugly or harmful things, and he will wish nothing so much as to make his team-play in the family life as excellent as possible. We are proceeding to learn what democracy in government is. There are no just punishments allowable in a democracy which do not help unfortunate men to be good citizens, not because they are compelled from outside, but because this becomes their own will. We pull together in a good home; we pull together in a good State.

The home a primary school for the State.—The home is the first school in which we learn to be citizens. As the home and its teachings are, so will the citizens of the State be later. Indeed, there are perhaps as many kinds of government in the home as there are in nations. We hear of homes where the father behaves like a tyrant. There are other homes in which the government is a firm and benevolent monarchy. There are homes like a little republic, in which everything is discussed in family council, and where nothing is done without common consent; and there are unfortunately homes without order, discipline, or authority, but where each member does as he likes. If we first learn what the best kind of home is, we can see better how we should live together in the State.

A true family government. — Let us ask what kind of home we should like best to grow up in. There would certainly have to be authority in it, or there would be disorder and discomfort. The authority would be such that every one could have the largest freedom of action consistent with his own good and the comfort of all. When the freedom of one was annoying to others, or when freedom was abused, it would have to be curtailed. As fast as children grew to deserve more freedom, it would be given them, but only on condition that they proved worthy of trust. We should like also to be gradually taken into our parents' confidence and to be consulted upon matters affecting ourselves or the home life; and so fast as our opinions came to be worth considering, they should have weight accordingly. On certain subjects, as we grew older, the decisions of the family should be taken by vote, and a majority should determine what was best; but we should always trust our parents as wiser and more experienced. They would have to bear the responsibility for the conduct of the family; they should therefore always hold the "veto power" to overrule the opinions or wishes of their children. Moreover, the father and mother, while each having his or her own office in which each should be supreme, should work together for the common happiness of the home. There would be some subjects, as, for example, in the care of the younger children, in which the mother alone would be responsible, just as the father is responsible for the conduct of his business. The older children, also, might be assigned certain duties, as, for example, the care of the garden or of their own rooms, for which they should be responsible, subject only to the over-sight of the parents.

Thus we have established a little state, with different departments in it, in which every one has a voice as soon as he deserves and as long as he is trustworthy, in which each has liberty as far as he uses it fairly, in which each also has duties and tasks for the good of all. In this government the parents are naturally the supreme authority, though influenced in many ways by the opinions of their children. This little state would change its character according to the members who made it up. If the children were very intelligent and good, there would be at the same time order and great liberty; if, however, the children were perverse and stupid, much authority would have to be exercised and many rules would have to be made, spoiling the liberty of all. If the mother were wise, but the father were foolish and incapable, some of his responsibility would have to be taken by the mother, and there might be conflicts of authority between the heads of the house. If, again, the father were tyrannical, he might take more power than would be good for the home. Yet even a bad government on the part of the parents may be better than to allow children to grow up to do as they please.

An exception. — There is a law even higher than the command of a parent. It is the law of right. The parent must not require of the child what is not just or true or pure or friendly. In such a case it would not be doing real honor to the parent to obey. Indeed, the parent at his best would not wish the child to obey a command that violated right, or that injured others. To obey a wrongful command — for example, to steal, or cheat — would be an injury not only to one's own conscience, but also to the person who, perhaps in a

hasty mood, had given the command. To disobey, however, is to risk punishment. Whoever, then, for the sake of his conscience feels obliged to disobey a wrongful command must be willing to take the consequences. But it is better to be punished undeservedly than to do wrong. Fortunately, it is a very unnatural parent or guardian who requires a child to do wrong, and the laws of the State can be invoked to protect or to take away children who are thus abused by bad or intemperate parents.

The happy life. — When are you happiest? Not when you are fed or even when you receive gifts and rewards. You are happy when you are all alive and doing something useful. You cannot enjoy gifts and rewards unless you deserve them. Every one wants to be of some use, or to count for something. Is it not more fun to play with other fellows than to play alone? So we enjoy our chance to help in the home life, even when it is hard work. This law goes up into the life of the city or the Nation. Suppose you were given the chance to be exceedingly useful to the government of the United States. Would you not be happy to undertake it? Suppose you could get nothing out of it: would you not still be glad to do it, as you are glad to help your mother without thinking of any reward? Every citizen, old or young, can be happy in this way. Try to think of the ways in which this may be, while you are still going to school.

CHAPTER III

THE SCHOOLROOM AND ITS GOVERNMENT

The teacher's government. — We will suppose that one of the children from our good home is now sent to school. Here is another little state, with the teacher at the head of it. What is the teacher's government for? It is, as in the home, to secure the good of each and the greatest comfort of all. The school must therefore have certain simple rules or laws. Perhaps every rule has a reason behind it. It is well to know what the reason is; for if there were no reason, the teacher would be glad to set the rule aside. Thus, there must be regularity in attendance, punctuality, order, quiet, and prompt obedience. Why? Because without these conditions the teacher cannot do his work well, and the pupils are robbed of their opportunity to learn. If the pupils are late, the whole school suffers. If every one can talk or whisper, lessons are interrupted. Whoever disobeys delays the school and robs the others of their time. A certain measure of firmness is needed. Even strictness, if it is good tempered, prevents friction and discomfort. Should we not prefer to go to an orderly school rather than to a slovenly one?

So, when the teacher insists upon the right way of doing anything — getting a lesson or pronouncing a word — it is because the right way is usually the best and the easiest. The pupil who comes from a good home will see this; he knows that the government of the school is not for the sake of the teacher, but for the pupils. He

sees that the school is a coöperative enterprise in which every pupil's part counts. He is on the way to be a citizen of the nation. He is learning not merely the books, but what no books can teach — how to get on with other people, how to give and take, how to share work and be generous, how to obey cheerfully for the common good. He finds that he does not know as much as his teacher, and he learns to trust and respect the authority above him. What if the teacher sometimes fails to know? What if the teacher sometimes seems too particular, or loses his temper? Well! We have to learn that all people, young or old, sometimes err and make mistakes, that in a sense all are children and no one is quite perfect. We wish to learn all kinds of truth in a democracy. But we have to do our own part better and not worse, where no one is perfect. We must stand by our school or our State the more loyally. What would become of us if our friends lost their patience every time we showed our faults? We do not propose to give up our friends because they are not perfect. Thus we learn in school what we shall need later as citizens of the State, not to be harsh, mean, and cruel in our judgments of one another, the teachers, or our officers, but to be considerate, fair, and patient as long as anyone honestly tries to do his best. Is not this what each of us asks of the others?

Different kinds of school government. — School government for primary children cannot be the same as the government of a grammar or high school; it cannot be the same for a rude and backward set of pupils as for the intelligent and self-controlled. There are schools in which considerable restraint may be needed



School Self-Government — A School Court

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for a while, until the pupils get accustomed to working together. What if the pupils do not see what the rules are for, or imagine that the teacher lays down rules to annoy them? There are schools which are like a little monarchy. The teacher does not yet trust the pupils; so he watches them suspiciously and makes many rules. Is it always safe and well to raise a school into a republic and to trust the pupils? Many teachers try to do this in various ways. Some teachers succeed wonderfully in this effort. It must surely be the best way to prepare the pupils to be good citizens. What kind of school do the pupils themselves desire? The more intelligent they become, the more they can be trusted; the greater liberties can be given them. Some of them can be appointed to assist in certain school offices. The pupils will be put upon their honor as soon as they know what honor is. The government of the school grows to be more democratic, the more mature the scholars become. There will be many subjects on which the master takes the vote of the school and lets the majority decide. They may vote upon the rules of the school and adopt them as their own. There will be occasions when the teacher can hear open discussion of a question and let the pupils express themselves. The more honorably liberty is used, the more liberty can be given; but the authority must rest with the teacher to forbid whatever would injure the school, since the teacher is responsible for it. Intelligent pupils desire this, as a ship's crew wish the captain to steer the ship. The word *govern* originally means "to steer."

Coöperation in the school government.—Even in a primary school, the teacher does not govern alone. The

pupils also help govern: they help by their consent and obedience; they may help very much by their good temper toward each other and toward their teacher. The fact is that the coöperative idea is at work below the surface everywhere in life. We are made to act by "mutual aid" and we can do little alone. But we work together best when we catch the idea and set our wills upon it. In a school of older and intelligent scholars the teacher hardly governs at all. There is little need of discipline or rules or punishments. This is because the pupils have learned to govern themselves. The teachers are now their friends. To help make the school a success, to win a good reputation for it, to save the teacher from the trouble of watching the conduct of his school so that he may teach the better — these are ways to serve themselves. Everyone contributes something — good scholarship, good temper, cheerfulness, respect for one another, skill and faithfulness in school exercises and athletics, and prompt obedience. The school becomes like a university of grown men and women. The good school is now fitting boys and girls to govern themselves in the State, and to be able to use the largest liberty as citizens. The motto is: *Each for all and all for each.* And this is the motto of a Civilized Commonwealth.

CHAPTER IV

THE PLAYGROUND: A TRAINING SCHOOL FOR CITIZENSHIP

Law and order. — We learn some of the most important things without knowing it, when we are at play. We learn to act together, to respect each other's rights, and to obey our leaders and officers. We may call the playground a little democracy, like a nation where all have equal rights. It may be a wild and lawless democracy, however, like that of savage tribes who have not learned to live together. There may be those who settle their quarrels by fighting, and bullies who tease and oppress weaker children, and sulky ones who withdraw from the rest unless they can have their own way. These things are so, if the children are too young or unintelligent. The playground is not well organized. We call the state of things *anarchy* where the members of any society pull apart instead of pulling together.

We need to have an arrangement of law and order for our playground and sports, so as to secure skillful play and the amplest enjoyment for all the boys and girls. Law and order are the methods of good government. Whose law and order? Our own, of course.

The organized playground. — As soon as children grow older, they begin to see that quarreling and sulking spoil the sport. They learn that it is not only unfair for anyone to insist upon having his own way in spite of the wish of the others, but that the one who insists or

sulks by himself has an uncomfortable time; for no one likes to play with him. They learn that fighting is a wretched way to settle difficulties and that it leaves ugly feelings after it is over. They agree therefore, for example in a game of ball, to choose a captain and to obey him. They agree to play as the majority decides. Instead of stopping to quarrel over the game, they choose some fair boy as umpire and agree to abide by his decision. The playground now becomes a little republic, with its own officers and its rules. The boys find that they have better sport as fast as they learn to govern themselves and to respect each other's rights. Though they have to keep their rules, they really have more freedom than before, when they interfered with each other. They can give all their strength now to their play, whereas before they had to be on the watch to protect themselves from bullies or tricksters. Even in contests of strength, like wrestling, they find that the advantage is with him who keeps a cool head and controls his temper. Thus rules and government even in games make the game better sport. The rules or laws, instead of restricting liberty, protect and increase it.

Moreover, the same playground, when organized and fairly divided, will accommodate twice as many boys as could play on it before they had agreed which part each should have. So civilized men, who divide their land equitably get many times the product from it and enjoy it more freely than when wild and hostile tribes roamed over it.

Public opinion. — Besides the rules of the playground, there is a force which is always over boys and girls to restrain or compel them. This is the com-

mon opinion of their companions. Thus, telling tales is generally held to be mean. This public opinion of a school or a playground may be right and just, but of course it is sometimes hasty and unfair. In this case it requires courage and independence to resist or question it. Whoever acts or speaks against the public opinion of playmates runs the risk of unpopularity or ridicule and sometimes of being hurt.

You can think of many ways in which public opinion acts in the school or on the playground. There will be leaders in making public opinion; they stir the others to think or talk; they contrive to fix standards, and they give voice to what others think or feel. They may be good leaders of public opinion, and after a while they succeed in turning the others their way. But some of them set low standards and habits. Every one at last helps to make the public opinion of his school or his group: he may help make it better, or he may make it worse. Which kind of talk will he repeat and keep in motion — the wholesome and truthful kind, or the coarse and cruel? Public opinion begins in the playground and at last rules the world; it bids the rulers do justice; it keeps back the weak from doing wrong; it takes up the thought of the wise and gives it to all the people. You can feel it about you, sometimes like a bracing wind that drives away the clouds, or again like a poisonous and deadening gas.

The leaders. — We have captains of teams and other leaders in our playground government. Whom do we thus obey? Do we obey these leaders, or do we obey the rules? We do both, and the leaders obey the rules too; and whomsoever we obey, we obey ourselves, for

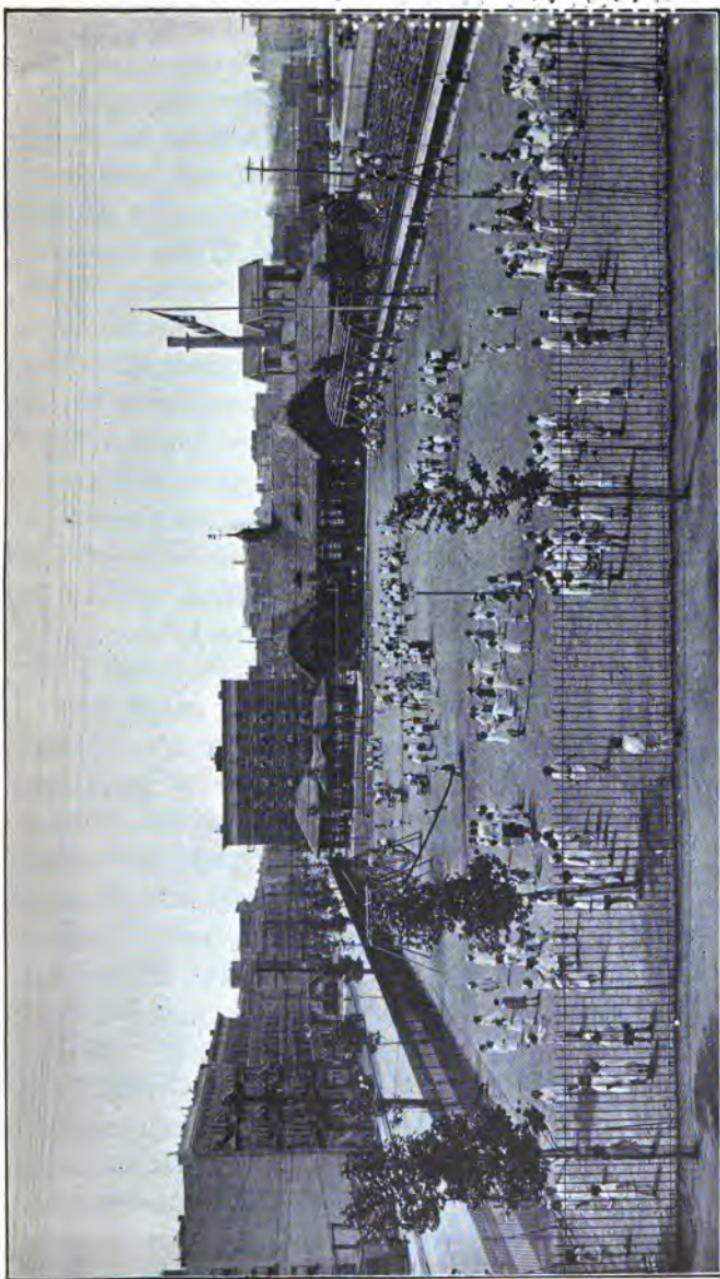
the laws are ours, and the leaders whom we have chosen are ours. The playground work is a common enterprise, and everything that we do is *our* choice for our common welfare.

The leaders are not merely leaders, but they are also the chief servants or helpers of the rest. What sort of fellows do we want to elect as our leaders? The strongest? Not always. The most skillful and quick-witted? Yes, but this is not enough. We want fair-minded, good-tempered, and kindly fellows. We want no one who will bring shame upon us by playing mean tricks, not even if we thus win the game. We want good manners toward every one,—to the younger boys and to strangers. In short, we want the best all-around fellows whom we can find. We want to win our games by straightforward playing. These best fellows will not put on airs or look down on their associates.

NOTE.—The words *he* and *boys* are used simply for convenience, because it is awkward always to repeat “he and she,” or “boys and girls.” The things said about boys are true generally of girls.

There is a law of “supply and demand” that works to make the leaders for boys or men. You choose your leaders by a vote, and elect a captain by a majority. But voting is only a piece of the machinery of government. The real question is: What kind of a leader do you desire? You can never get a first-rate leader by voting, unless you know what kind of leader you want and are determined to have him. This demand of yours for the right kind of captain or other officer tends to procure him. It stirs the fellows to try to make of themselves what you want.

Show us the kind of leaders that the boys have in



A Playground for Boys and Girls

TO MINT
AUTOMOBILES

any place, and we know what is the average quality of the boys. As sure as they put up with shiftless or dishonorable leaders, they will become a rather poor grade of boys. On the other hand, a strong, manly set of leaders will raise the level of character of all the boys. We shall find the same fact about the citizens of a town. As the leaders are, so will the people tend to be.

The umpire. — An important leader in certain games is the umpire. He watches the game and sees that it is played fairly. He must not only know the rules and have a sharp eye upon every move in the game, but he must also be the fairest-minded fellow to be found. You could not compel him to give an advantage to one side over the other, or to make a wrong decision in favor of his own brother. This is the kind of fellow on the playground whom we shall want by and by, perhaps for the judge of a great court.

Two kinds of courage. — Nearly every one has a certain amount of courage. The most timid animal will often turn on its enemy and fight for its young. Every healthy creature has physical courage. It is easy to stand up with the crowd out in the open and do whatever the others do. It is easy to do right when the others are willing to do right with you. It is easy for the leaders to be brave when they know that they will have plenty of followers. But there is a harder kind of courage. It is *moral courage*, that is, the courage of the intelligence, or the courage of a kind heart. This is the courage of the independents, who will stand up alone for what they think is fair and honest, who will tell the truth when it is not welcome, who will hold their own alone when at first they are blamed for it, whom you

cannot frighten or browbeat. This kind of courage comes to light in school and on the playground.

Danger and sacrifice. — What is there which we do that has no danger in it? Is there any first-rate sport that has not a sparkle of danger? In riding or skating or swimming, accidents may happen to us. So much the more call for skill and presence of mind. But we need to know more than how to escape harm ourselves. We may have the chance any day to save some one from hurt. What if one of the fellows breaks through the ice, or a younger child is drowning? What will an able fellow do now? He may risk and even lose his life in saving the other. We call it *sacrifice* when anyone is willing to lose his life if necessary for the sake of his fellows. What would happen to a country if the boys and girls had none of the spirit of sacrifice? The nation is strong when it has plenty of people willing to make sacrifices. What makes history worth reading except the stories of sacrifice in it? We call it sacrifice, but the happiest people who have ever lived have given it gladly.

The unpopular thing. — One form of sacrifice is to be willing, for a good cause, to do the unpopular thing. One or two independent boys or girls can often prevent an injustice or hold back others from a mean or cowardly act. A considerable number are generally ready to agree with the independent fellow, but have not the courage to say so. Even if one has to stand alone, public opinion always comes around at last to support what is fair. Nor is the bold stand for justice, good order, or fair play likely to be really unpopular, if the independent person is also brave, outspoken, and

good-tempered. Our American Government depends upon our having brave independents. If boys are not independent upon the playground, is it likely that they will ever learn to be?

Two kinds of risks. — There are various risks that have to be taken in games or sports. There is risk of accident to the person, or of loss or injury to one's own or another's property or clothing. There are certain times and places specially fit for the purposes of play, where risk is least. There are other places so unsuitable that the risk becomes excessive. In general, it is all right to take the necessary risks of any sport which come within the rules of that sport. It is fair to take the risks of pain or loss which one can afford to meet, such as hurting one's fingers or losing one's ball, but it is foolish to take extra risks, like bathing in a dangerous undertow. It is always bad business to take the risk of breaking the rules of the game. It is wrong to take such risks that, if harm came, others would have to suffer or pay the expense. It is not fair to play baseball in front of a neighbor's windows, which if broken one has not the money to repair; it is not fair needlessly to risk clothing, or other property which some one else must mend or replace. In short, the risks of play and sport begin to be hazardous and also wrong, as soon as they involve trouble, anxiety, loss or injury to others.

Playing to win. — We like to win in a game. What is better than to win? It is to play with skill and honor. Is it not better to play well and be defeated by a superior antagonist than to play ill and to beat only an inferior? Is it not better to play honorably and be beaten than to win a game by foul means and tricks; for example, by

maiming one's opponents at football? To play a dis-honorable game is a confession of weakness. Who can-not see this?

Moreover, see how in our games the idea is not to put down or humiliate one another, as if we were fighting. The game is really an enterprise of coöperation. We play for the pleasure of all, including the side that loses. We play in order that we may all play better, and we are poor sportsmen unless we are generous enough to appreciate the good points in one another and to praise our antagonists.

Betting. — What harm is there in betting, for example, upon the outcome of the game? or in putting up marbles to win or lose? The trouble is that it forms a mischievous habit. There is fun enough in a good game without gambling about it. The sport consists in the skill and resourcefulness of the players. The betting set are mere idle lookers on. What one fellow wins some one else loses. Who wants to get money by means of another's loss? The fact is that betting and gambling have done such harm that every civilized state has had to make laws against these practices. Betting men and gamblers are apt to be dangerous citizens. They set an example of law-breaking to every new citizen who comes here.

The interscholastic games. — The boys in the biggest school are not content to play their games with one another. But they make alliances or confederations with other schools or colleges to play match games. What happens now? Perhaps before they did this, they looked on the others as strangers, or even despised them; perhaps they bragged about their own team, as if it were the best. Now when they meet other schools they

find what good fellows the others are; they become not so much rivals as friends; they see how childish it is to boast about themselves; they learn to treat each other handsomely; they get new ideas and they play better at home for learning to play with others. The boys will find some day that they are thus learning lessons which underlie one of the greatest schemes in the world, namely, international good-fellowship.

CHAPTER V

THE CLUB OR DEBATING SOCIETY

WE learn a good deal about citizenship in our various clubs. Suppose that a set of boys or girls form a Tennis Club or a Debating Society. It is evident that there must be some order and certain simple rules.

The president or chairman. — In the first place there must be a chief or head. It will not do for several to speak at once, but some one whom all are agreed to regard shall keep order and require the members of the club to take their fair turn in speaking. The person who presides at a meeting is often called the chairman; and he is said to "take the chair." When the club has been thoroughly organized, there will be a regular or permanent chairman, who may be called the president.

As soon as there is a chairman, whoever wishes to speak or to propose a plan must rise and address him. The chairman must then "recognize" or call the name of the first member whom he hears say: "Mr. Chairman." While one speaks, the chairman will not suffer others to interrupt, except by the speaker's permission, or for some special reason provided for in the rules; for no one else would wish rudely to be interrupted when his turn comes.

The chairman must be impartial and give an equal chance to every one. It would be unfair, for example, to let his particular friends have more than their share of the time, or, if there were two parties, to favor one of

them and allow his favorites to interrupt the speakers of the other side, or to forbid a hearing to an independent but unpopular member. Indeed, a partial or one-sided chairman would soon break up a club, since it would not be worth while to attend meetings which were unfairly conducted. So important is it that the chairman should not needlessly take sides with one party or the other, that he ought to have some very good and unselfish reason to justify him in speaking on any question or in voting, unless there is a tie, that is, an equal division of the votes between *Yes* and *No*. In that case the chairman may throw the *casting-vote* and decide the issue.

The constitution and rules. — It would not be well to expect any chairman to keep order without some instructions. He needs a plan which all shall understand and agree to. The club will therefore have a constitution and rules. Whoever joins the club agrees to live by these rules. They are framed so as to help the club and not to thwart it. The simpler they can be made, the better. The club does not want to waste its time in discussing its constitution or altering the rules. Indeed, the rules for conducting orderly meetings of various kinds, from a Boy's Club to the Congress of the United States, have been worked out through generations and are much alike. The idea under them is the same as it is with the rules of the school and the playground, namely, to serve the common convenience. Disorder takes away freedom and changes a meeting into a mob. Order and law create greater freedom for all.

The membership of the club. — Some clubs are very democratic and admit anyone who will agree to their rules; other clubs are exclusive, and allow only such

persons to join as those already in the club permit. At any rate, there must be some rule to determine who the members of the club shall be, and there must be a list of the members, otherwise the president might not know who had a right to speak and to vote.

The quorum. — One of the rules of the club will state how many members must be present before the meeting can begin to do business. For it would not be right for a very small number to decide a matter, like the spending of money, without waiting to see what the others wished. At the same time, it would not do to keep a considerable number waiting till all the tardy members arrived. If, then, the club numbered thirty, it might fix half its number, or fifteen, as the *quorum*.

Fair notice of meetings. — The rules will provide that full notice of every meeting be given to all the members of the club. Thus it would not do for a few members to call a meeting and make up a quorum by themselves, or to call a meeting at a time when others either did not know of it, or could not conveniently attend. Notice should also be given of any important business to be discussed at a meeting, so that all who are interested can be present.

Changing the constitution. — Some of the rules for a club are merely for convenience (by-laws), and are intended to be easily altered or set aside on occasion. But the plan of the club, or the constitution, ought not so easily to be changed or set aside. If the club, for example, were organized to play tennis, and certain members proposed to alter it to a boat club, there ought to be a thorough understanding of the new plan and a general agreement before a change was made, since many

who had joined the club might be disappointed at the change. It is generally agreed, therefore, that the constitution must not be altered without plenty of discussion, and time for consideration, and due notice to every member, and without the agreement of a large proportion, perhaps two-thirds, of the members.

Free discussion. — If any question is before the club, there ought to be ample time for every one to understand it, and for those who wish, to say what they think on both sides. Even when the larger number have made up their minds, they should be willing to hear the other side patiently, and be persuaded to change in case good reasons can be given. This is what each would wish for himself if he thought that his side had not had a fair hearing.

On the other hand, members must not be selfish and obstinate. It would not be fair for anyone to speak again and again on the same subject,—at least, as long as others had not yet had an opportunity to be heard. It is not fair for anyone to speak for an unreasonable time, or to speak merely to hear himself talk. Neither is it fair, unless for some very serious reason, to go on objecting after both sides have been heard and the larger number are ready to decide. Rules are therefore made, on the one hand, to give the few their full rights to object and persuade the others, or to delay hasty action; and, on the other hand, to give the majority, or larger number, their rights also, and to prevent a few discontented or sulky members from blocking all the business. Of course, rules are not enough; there must also be a spirit of fair play. For good rules can be abused by mischievous persons, and even forced to work injustice,

if members of a club are willing to wrong each other. Please never forget what the rules are for, if any of you become members of the city council or the legislature or Congress or when you are in a town meeting.

The method of business. — When a number of persons meet together, there is apt to be a great waste of time in talking. For nearly every one has something to say, often about subjects which are of no importance. The talking must therefore be confined to some subject which really belongs to the club to discuss. The rule is, if a member proposes anything or "makes a motion," some one else must "second" it before the chairman can allow talking about it. At least two persons ought to be interested in the subject before the attention of the club is called to it.

One thing at a time. — When a subject has been proposed, it must be attended to before anything else is brought forward. If anyone wishes to speak, he must speak on the subject, and not on something else. Whenever there has been enough discussion about it, the members can call for the "Question," and unless the larger number choose to hear more talking, the chairman must let it be decided at once. The club can, however, defer it, or "lay it upon the table," and then go on to other things.

Amendments. — It may happen that some one proposes a good plan, but another sees a better one. He can offer an "amendment" or improvement to the original motion, and if some one "seconds" it, the chairman must see that every one now talks about the amendment, till the club is ready to decide whether to accept it or not. There can be an amendment to an

amendment, but business would become complicated if amendments could go any further. The original mover of a resolve will often save time and trouble if he agrees to accept a good amendment, in which case, if the seconder also agrees, it becomes a part of the first resolve.

Majorities and minorities.—If there were a few members of a club wiser than all the rest, it might do to ask them to decide for the others. But it is often hard to tell who are wise, and the wisest sometimes make bad mistakes. Besides, no one would ever become wise without practice in thinking about questions and deciding them. Since, therefore, all have to share in the expenses and in the work, it is fair and best that the larger number, the *majority*, shall decide. The smaller number, the *minority*, must yield, as they would wish to have the others do in case they had the choice. The club may choose to refer a difficult subject to a select number of its best or oldest members (a *committee*), and either abide by their decision, or at least delay action till the committee reports. In a large club or society, in order to save time, it may be necessary to refer almost every question to a committee, to find out whether it is worth while for the club to talk about it; as when a great ship is exploring, it sends a boat into a new harbor to find whether it is desirable for the ship to follow.

There are important questions upon which the consequences of a mistake are so serious, perhaps threatening to cripple the life of the society, that a bare majority of a few votes ought not to be willing to take the responsibility of the decision. Sometimes the rules require as large a vote as two-thirds or even more of the members present, or even all the members. We do not

want to compel our fellows to act with us against their better judgment or their conscience. In most cases of this kind the majority can afford to wait good-naturedly till they can persuade enough other members to make the action nearly unanimous. What shall we do when it is necessary to get an immediate decision? How can we do better (unless we give up the proposal altogether) than to decide by the vote of the majority and take the consequences?

Voting. — The different modes of voting, or helping to decide a question, will be spoken of in another chapter. It is enough to say here that it is evidently fair that each member shall have one vote and only one. To cast two votes on the same question is to steal a vote.

The reconsideration. — It is a pity for anyone, after making up his mind, to have to change. But it is vastly better to change than to decide wrongly. If a member therefore thinks that the club ought to alter its decision, he can "move to reconsider" or bring up the question again. But only one who had before been in the majority, and has himself changed, can fairly ask the others to change.

Preparing business for a meeting. — The secretary or president or executive committee should have the business of a meeting carefully arranged so that there need be no waste of time. There will first be the reports of the secretary and treasurer, and of committees. There will be unfinished business which needs to be concluded. There will be opportunity for new business. New business must be brought forward with plenty of regard to the democratic idea of fair play and frank discussion. No one does well to offer new business without

talking it over beforehand with other members of the meeting. No important matter ought to be "sprung upon" a meeting, and thus perhaps to carry a vote without a thorough hearing of its merits. Everything must be open and above board. Due notice of new business is often required to be given beforehand, so that members can think about it and be sure to be present with arguments for or against it. On the other hand, no good comrade wants to be fussy and obstructive in raising objections against action which the others desire.

The secretary or clerk. — It is evident that some one should be appointed to keep a copy of the constitution and rules, to have a correct list of all the members of the club, to give the proper notices to members, and to keep a record of all that is done at each meeting. For at the next meeting it will be necessary to review what was done and what was left over at the meeting before. The secretary ought to be a trustworthy, careful, prompt, and accurate person. He ought also to be a good and neat penman. Indeed, when a society finds the right kind of secretary, they do well to reëlect him again and again.

The treasurer. — The club will need money. Perhaps the members will choose to pay dues. In any case some one must be chosen to collect and keep the money and to pay it out as the club directs. It is not every one who will make a good treasurer. A fellow may be very popular and yet of no use for this office. What if he is not scrupulously honest? What if he is not exact in keeping his accounts? What if he is heedless and forgets to put down the names of those who pay their dues? What if he mixes the club money with

his own? Of course he must not use the club money for himself or his friends, or borrow it even for a day. All that he has a right to do is to keep it safe for the club. In short, he must not do anything with it that he would not wish every member of the club to know. He must also be ready at any time to give account of his payments of the money, and the club ought to see that his accounts are regularly examined or "audited." A faithful treasurer will always prefer to show his accounts. The treasurer should also have good manners, for otherwise he may offend those from whom he has to collect dues. A good treasurer, like a good secretary, ought to be elected again and again. It is not easy to replace him.

Other officers. — There will often be matters of business for which it would be inconvenient to call together the whole club. For example, it might be desirable to arrange for a picnic. A committee would therefore be appointed to take charge of the arrangements. Besides special committees, it saves trouble to have certain permanent committees, as, for example, to see that the expenses of the club are proper and within its means, and to examine the treasurer's accounts. If the club has grounds, or bats and balls, there may be a person or a committee chosen to care for the good order and safety of the property of the club. "What is everybody's business is nobody's business." We like, therefore, to give every one his part of the work, and we then expect him to do his best.

Of course, it is right that every one should feel honored to hold an office in the service of the club. At the same time, no one who cares for the success of the club



Daniel Webster in the United States Senate

NO. 111111
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wishes to seek an office which another member can fill better. Can you not wait and trust your fellows to choose you for the office if they want you? Do you desire to seize the office or to vote for yourself?

There are some places in a society which any member may be useful in filling. It will be well to give as many as possible something to do. There are other places where there is need of unusual fairness, judgment, and skill. The club must have one of its best members for president, as a boat's crew must have its most skillful man to steer.

Belong to some club or society if you can; help manage it in an orderly manner; obey its rules; help make it efficient and successful; be loyal to it. Boys and girls are not good for much till they learn to be loyal. What does a club ask of its members? It asks courtesy to one another, respect toward its officers, courage in speaking one's opinions, fairness to the other side — the very qualities which the nation asks. Only in so far as men are civilized to act together can they make the nation strong. What if the members of a legislature or Congress are not really civilized? There will inevitably be friction, prejudice, faction, hatred, bad words, and insult, possibly blows and violence, and free government becomes impossible.

CHAPTER VI

PERSONAL HABITS: CONDITIONS OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP

The people every one likes. — We have to learn to get on with other people so as to do our own work and carry on the common work. A government, whether a little one in a home or school, or a great State, is simply a society of people acting together in an orderly way. There is a continual effort of the members to get on together, to play or study or work together comfortably. What if they cannot act happily together? It is like friction in a machine. Now there are people in almost every society who are more or less uncomfortable to play or work with. There are others whom we like to work with. What makes the difference? What kind of people do we all like for school-fellows, playfellows, fellow citizens? See if the people with whom we get on most happily are not those who have certain pleasant and likable habits; and those who give us discomfort have ugly or bad habits of speech or behavior.

Habits: cleanliness and order. — What seem like very little habits have a good deal of effect upon others. Take, for example, the habit of cleanliness and of neatness in dress. We like to see a clean face as well as a cheerful face. Indeed, one of the marks of barbarous men is that they do not know the use of soap and water. Their huts are dirty; their villages are untidy; they often therefore suffer terrible epidemics of

disease. Civilized men, on the contrary, find pleasure, comfort, and health in being clean. So with the habit of keeping things in order. The more wealth men possess, and the more tools and appliances they have, the more necessary it is to keep things in place. The closer we live together in great towns, the greater the need is that every one shall coöperate to maintain wholesome and orderly premises and streets: for one badly kept house may poison a neighborhood and spread scarlet fever or consumption; an unsightly yard may offend the eyes of hundreds of people; scraps of soiled paper thrown into the street and left there will give an untidy look to a town. There are many business positions for which it is of no use to apply unless one has a neat appearance.

Polite or civil manners. — The word *civil* means, first, what men do in cities; *civilization* is the art of living together with many others. Rude or slovenly manners, speech, and habits, therefore, which might do little harm in the woods, cause discomfort as soon as men gather in considerable numbers; as a rude, selfish child, besides making every one unhappy at home, becomes disagreeable to his fellows when he carries his bad manners to school. Moreover, a rude manner is apt to be a sign of a bad temper. Now, nothing is so uncomfortable as to work or play with one who has an ugly temper.

The fact is, every one likes to have respect shown him. We would rather be met with a courteous greeting than with a scowl; we wish our neighbors not to push or crowd against us. We therefore agree, in fairness to each other, to use the same respect to others which we like to have shown us. This is the root of good manners.

We soon discover that life is thus smoother and more pleasant. Certain "rules of politeness," as they are called, are simply the ways in which men have learned to show each other the respect and consideration which they like to have others give them. There is generally some reason for the "polite rule"; if we watch, we may discover what it is. For example, there is a reason why in crowded streets carriages are required to go to the right in passing each other.

What good is it, a boy wants to know, to say "Good morning" to a neighbor, or to take off his hat to his teacher? It is a little mark of good nature, as if he were to say, "I am your friend," or, "Count on me, if I can do anything for you." We like this; but we do not like a "grouchy" look on anyone's face, or to hear a tone in one's voice, as if to say, "I do not care for anyone but myself."

But what if one of these rules or habits ever came to mean nothing at all, and therefore did not express any friendliness? Then, of course, we should be justified in giving it up; but we must be sure that we are right in our opinion about it, before we render ourselves singular by disregarding it, since it is unsocial to stand aloof from what our fellows do, without a good reason. We observe the rules of good manners, then, even when we cannot always quite see the reason for the rules, because on the whole they decidedly add to the convenience and happiness — first, of the home or school; and later, of the men and women who make up society — and also because it is foolish, unsocial, and barbarous to disregard or despise what men and women generally do.

Examples. — It is a matter of ancient custom for youth to pay respect to age. This is partly because we have a right to believe that older persons have wisdom and character which deserve respect; it is partly because we should wish ourselves, when we come to greater age, to be treated with deference; it is partly because in advanced age there is often need of kindly help and consideration. It is also good for the young themselves to show the marks of respect to their elders. This is part of the discipline in patience, gentleness, and self-control which goes to make manly or womanly character.

In barbarous times there was scant courtesy shown to woman. Then came the age of chivalry, when manners became more refined. It is held to be the mark of a gentleman to show special consideration and respect to womanhood. This is largely out of regard to our mothers, to whom we recognize a debt of care and love which we never can repay. This respect to womanhood is not only for the advantage and happiness of women; it is equally for the advancement of men, who enjoy a higher civilization in proportion as women are treated with honor. Certain outward marks of respect, like lifting the hat, are simply the tokens of such honorable feeling.

Habits about money. — Every one shows his character by the way he uses money. In some households an allowance is given to the children to spend or save or give away. Almost every boy or girl has also means of earning money. One may soon see whether a young person is truthful or mean or generous, by his dealing with money. Does he keep account of his expenditures?

Is he able to make his accounts balance, or does he forget to put items down? Is he willing or not that his father or mother shall see what he does with his money? Is he able to keep within his means, or does he fall into the habit of borrowing? Is he willing fairly to earn his money, or does he expect to be paid more than the market price? Is he sharp at a bargain? All these things determine and help make his character. By and by, when he takes his place as a citizen, we shall want to know what his habits are about money, before we trust him to take office and look out for the interests of others. If boys and girls cheat, or do not live on their allowance, they will be likely to make shiftless citizens. Who would like to have a careless fellow or a cheat for class treasurer or collector of taxes for the town?

Thoroughness. — The government of any country will be like its people. It cannot be much better than they are. The pupils of to-day will soon be the people. Every thorough person helps make the State strong, like a good stone in a wall; while the slovenly, like so much rubbish, weaken society and the State. It is not one's own affair merely, whether he is punctual in engagements and regular in his habits, or whether he gets his lessons. These things affect the State.

Honor. — Suppose a boy cannot be trusted to keep the rules of the school, unless the teacher's eye is on him; or suppose that a boy would steal or cheat if he were not afraid of punishment; or suppose that an umpire favors his own friends or the boys of his own school — we say in every such case that the boy has no honor. Moreover, he is building up a habit that may stick to him. How we pity the people on whom we can never depend!

How many schools do you know where pupils take no advantage of the absence of the teacher; where the boys can be trusted to be as fair to the other party in a bargain as to themselves, and just as fair if no one ever knew what they did? We call this habit "honor" or "trustworthiness." If there were not some such men and women in every town, we could not maintain the republic.

We need to mark a difference between real and false honor. There are men and boys who are very sensitive if anyone calls them bad names or seems to insult them. They think their honor requires them to punish the other, sometimes when he tells the truth, or when he means no harm. We say that a man "carries a chip on his shoulder," if he has this foolish habit of thinking that he must always be on guard for his honor. This has nothing to do with real honor. A nation may have this false sense of honor and live in danger of quarrels with other nations. Many a war has started with no cause, except that one or both nations carried "chips on their shoulders." We want the honor not of the hot-headed aristocrat, but of the kindly and trustworthy good fellow, the democratic gentleman.

Truth. — The story is that the early Persians, besides teaching the use of the bow and the horse, trained their boys to speak the truth, and so their sons conquered the East. What is lying but cowardice? Timid children lie because they are afraid to tell the truth; cowards lie; slaves habitually lie; sneaks and thieves live by lying, never having been taught what freedom one has who tells the truth. The habit of telling the truth is not only the mark of honor and courage; it is the great

bond that keeps us together as social or friendly beings. How could we get on together, if we could not believe what our parents and teachers tell us, and if they could not believe us; if the men in business did not keep their promises; if nations broke their treaties with each other?

Self-control. — Why do we do right? Is it because some one compels us, or because we are afraid of being punished? This would not be any better than a trained horse. We expect men and women to do right of their own choice. Every time we say a cheerful "*I will*" to the side of truth and right, we build up the habit of self-control. At last we want so much to do the best things that they become easy. You have heard of the fabled centaurs. The centaur was a man above and a beast below. Every human being is something like that. We call a man brutal when the beast is stronger than the man. We call him a man when he rides the beast. The beast throws the man whenever he pushes or snatches for more than his share. The man rides the beast when he says *no* to his passions and appetites. No parent or teacher or policeman can do this for another; each one has to learn to do it for himself.

The pure life. — There are habits of life and speech which survive among men from barbarous or savage times. We know them almost by instinct as base and degrading. There are things that soil and hurt the mind as pitch soils the hands, or dry-rot infects a tree. Whoever cares for happiness will avoid the things that turn a man into a beast. We shall see by and by how heavy a burden the nation has to carry in the number of persons, often feeble in mind, who carry a sort of in-

fection wherever they go. Every State has to build great asylums and hospitals for them.

Narcotics and stimulants. — Whoever wishes to be strong, whoever wishes a sound heart, a clear eye, and a steady hand, whoever wishes to render useful and patriotic service as a good citizen, will beware of the use of alcoholic drinks and all narcotic stimulants and drugs. The same, though in smaller measure, may be said of the frequently excessive use of candies and condiments, which undermine the health and threaten the vigor of the coming generation of citizens.

Common human nature. — There is nothing so interesting as human nature. Every day we get lessons about human nature in ourselves and in others. What if we do not understand it? What if we do not know what it is in ourselves?

We discover that there are all kinds of people in the world — hard and ugly, dishonest, cowardly, and cruel, or again, kind, faithful, just, generous, brave and useful. Are there any who are altogether bad? How many are altogether good? Human nature is generally a mixture, as if you had all kinds of fruit, more or less ripe, in a basket. There is no one who has not some good in him; no one who cannot do something useful that might help society or the State. Neither is anyone so good that he might not do better. Thus we are more like one another than we are different, and we call one another "brothers" on account of the good that is in every one. This is true of every race and color of men — black, or brown, or white, or yellow. Human nature is everywhere much the same.

This common human nature always answers with the

same treatment that it receives, as a mirror reflects the light. Treat others as you like to be treated, and we all get on together. Treat anyone unkindly and you hurt yourself and the other too. *Humanity* is the great word in a democracy. It means the habit of treating every one with consideration and kindness. If we learned everything that the school teaches and did not learn humanity, we should have no education fit for an American citizen.

The good will. — What is the best thing in human nature? It is a good, strong, friendly will. There are people who know more than we know; perhaps they are better, or older, or more skillful. But what does the teacher care most for? He cares most to see in us a good will determined to be useful. He would rather see a pupil slow and unskillful and yet with a will to do better, than the brightest pupil in the school who has no determined good will. So in the State: the humblest people may be admirable citizens by reason of their good will, while learned and distinguished men may be useless for want of it. Why do we love the memory of Abraham Lincoln? Because he was full of good will, that is, of humanity. Good will makes the weak strong and the strong still stronger. The greatest contribution that anyone makes toward our common work is a hearty good will. And every time we do anything in good will, the will becomes stronger.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRINCIPLES THAT BIND MEN TOGETHER

WE say that a man "has good principles," or we say of some men that they have no principles. What is a principle? The word has the same root as *prince*, that is, one who is chief or leads others. A principle is what we steer our life by. The man who has no principles is like a man who lives as the animals live, without plan or purpose. There are a few principles which underlie the foundation of human society. No one is fit to live with others who is not able at once to understand them and to see the reason for them. Our consciences respond to them and tell us that they are right; our best selves mean to obey them. To break them is wrong and stupid; we do ourselves harm, as if we had kicked against spikes. Let us sum up these principles which every human being who wants to live happily with his fellow citizens ought to heed.

Justice or respect for other's rights. — We must treat others as we wish to be treated. We must not hurt or defraud or annoy them. We must not injure their property. Why? Because, like brothers, they are entitled to the same respect that we claim from them; because, also, every one is happier when all respect each other. Does this hold true in our treatment of those who seem to be bad? Yes. We treat them as friends and not as enemies, on the ground of our confidence that they are not altogether bad, but that they have a good

side like ourselves; in other words, we treat others as we wish to be treated if ever we do wrong. Who would go to live in a State where people were unjust to each other?

Respect for authority. — We have seen that there must be some one in the home and school, and sometimes on the playground, who shall direct or command the others, and who shall exercise authority. It is for the good even of the disobedient members, who ought not to be allowed to hurt themselves or others. Authority is meant to help them as the harness helps the horse to pull; even the policeman ought never to be the enemy of any man, but his friend. If, then, there must be authority for the greater good of all, we owe it respect and loyalty. This authority over us also belongs to us, since it is the authority of *our* parents, *our* teachers, *our* officers, *our* country. When it is wise and kind, we reverence it.

Majority and minority rights. — We have seen that often the only fair way to decide a question is to see what the larger number want. This is another way of respecting others by respecting their wishes or their opinions. This is fairer to them and fairer to ourselves than to quarrel; that is, it is for the general good, always provided that the majority do not compel us to do wrong.

But if the minority, or the smaller number, respects the majority, the majority must also respect the minority. The majority is sometimes wrong, or in too much of a hurry. Sometimes it shows an ugly temper and plays the part of a tyrant. Even when we differ, and after voting expect the smaller number to help us carry out the vote, we have to remember that the others may be right.

We owe it to the others to have an open mind so as to be persuaded to change, in case we make a mistake. History shows innumerable instances where majorities have committed terrible blunders.

The principle of responsibility. — Men live so close together, like bees in a hive, that each one has to take a share, whether he likes it or not, in whatever the others do. Each shares in the pleasure or in the losses of all. Even the minority share in what the majority decide. The minority must help pay the expense or bear the loss of all. So if the majority do wrong, the minority have to suffer too, till they can persuade the majority to do right. This is social responsibility. It could not be otherwise as long as we live together. It is fair, since we are perfectly willing to share in the gain that others bring us, that we should share together in the losses; for it would be mean to take the credit that our club or our party wins, and not to be willing to take the blame which it incurs. We cannot shirk responsibility, then, except by living altogether alone, like hermits. Indeed, we should be responsible if we deserted our fellows and left them to act alone. But what if we protest and vote against the wrong which others do? We are free of personal blame, but we are still responsible with the others in having to take the consequences.

The use of power. — What is power of any sort — ability, strength, skill — good for? It is not for the individual only; it is to share and serve the others with, as the muscle of a good oarsman or the quickness of the coxswain is for the whole crew. Thus the good scholar earns honors for the school; the capable and trained man makes the town richer. The parent, teacher, or

officer holds power for the sake of the others, and not for himself merely. This is fair in the family, because there we belong to one another. It is fair, for the same reason, wherever we live together. It is fair in the great world, because we consider mankind as a great family. Whenever we try this, it works better than any other way; moreover, it is what the strong man wishes others to do for him with their power in case he becomes weak. Did you ever see anyone use his power just for himself without hurting others?

The public service. — It follows, therefore, that, besides bare obedience to authority, or doing as we are bidden, we owe something extra. We owe all that we can do for the common good. We evidently owe this in a home. Besides doing what we must, we want to contribute something additional, as the parents, besides giving a bare living to their children, like to give them comforts and pleasures. So, wherever we live together, we wish to add something to the good of the whole.

The fact is, the people who live in the world to-day have inherited immense values from those long before our time who left the world richer for their thoughts, inventions, and noble deeds. We want to "make good" as they did. We might indeed set this motto for ourselves: *We owe our lives for the service of our families, our neighbors and friends, the town we live in, our nation, and mankind.* How much do we owe? We owe all we can do.

Giving and getting. — We come to a new principle that the world is just finding out. It is that the chief business of life is to give, that is, to *do* things rather than to *get* things. This goes even beyond justice.

When are we most happy, effective, useful, and at our very best? When we are accomplishing something beautiful or useful. Every one's life is like a conduit through which water runs from the reservoir. Let the conduit pour the water through, and it is thus kept full. But the flow of water stops unless the conduit is open. The selfish people who try to get all they can and give the least, never half live. This is because we are social beings. *Each for all and all for each* is the law of our lives. Which would you rather do, have only your living and do ten thousand dollars worth of work every year for your fellows, or have a million dollars a year without earning a dollar? What a mean thing this would be!

The strong and the weak.—We see two classes in every home and every school, and wherever men live. One class are those who for some reason have to be helped and supported. The little children especially are in this class. So are the sick in body or mind. The other class are those who do more for others than others do for them. They help support or take care of the weak. It is necessary sometimes to belong to the first class and to have to be carried; but it is disgraceful, if we can help it, to stay in that class and to compel others to carry us. It is like stealing, to be willing to do less for others than they do for us, to be idle, to receive and not to give, to inherit money or skill or the means of education, and then not to leave others richer for what we have had. We might at least give back thanks and cheerfulness; for whoever is willing on the whole and through life to take more than he earns, takes it out of what others earn.

The spirit of democracy. — What do they mean when they sometimes say that there is a good spirit in a school? You cannot see this spirit any more than you can see your own mind. But you see what it does. It does more than to keep the rules: it is cheerful, friendly, and willing. It is always saying: What can I do for you? How can I help you? It is not thinking about getting pay or office or praise. This is the spirit of democracy. We call it chivalry, or loyalty, or devotion. Thus, while Washington commanded the American army he would accept no compensation, and when his rivals and enemies abused him, he cheerfully continued to serve. And when the new nation was founded, he went on with the same spirit and devoted himself to the welfare of the people. We call such men as Washington chivalrous or devoted, like the brave knights in the old stories. Give us plenty of chivalrous boys and girls and we shall have a finer country to live in than the sun has ever shone on.

Let us sum up the principles of good government and see if we are willing to agree to them:

First — We propose to pay respect to the rights of others. This is justice.

Second — We will respect the authority which takes care of our welfare. This is obedience to our own laws.

Third — We will respect the right of the majority, whenever a fair vote is taken, and we will also respect the rights of the minority and not override them.

Fourth — We will accept our responsibility in whatever our school or society does or enjoys or suffers.

Fifth — We will use our power for the common good.

Sixth — We propose, wherever we live, to add something to the advantage of all, so as to leave the world better.

Seventh — We propose to give and do more than we get, or are paid for, so as to fill the world with good and beautiful things.

Eighth — We wish to keep a public or democratic spirit of kindness towards every one.

We shall presently seek to apply these principles, as a plan of life, in the great fields of politics and business.

CHAPTER VIII

VARIOUS RIGHTS AND DUTIES

EVERY ONE has certain rights, and every one has duties to match the rights. The child has his rights as well as the parents, and both have their duties; the purchaser has his rights, and the merchant has his, and each has his duties accordingly. All these social relations or bonds are reciprocal or mutual. All sorts of questions arise about these things. How much ought the State — that is, all the people — to do for the citizen? What should the citizen do in return? What duty does the State owe to strangers from foreign lands? What does it owe to childish and shiftless people? There are those who work hard and have small wages and those who have great wealth. What can be done so that all the people shall fare better than they fare now? Such hard questions as these about right and wrong and duties fill the newspapers and make a large part of the business of a modern city or State. Every election has something to do with them.

Rights or duties: which are first? — Our duties come first. A boy must learn his lessons before he gets his marks; a man must do his work before he has a right to his pay. But more than this — does not any honest fellow care more to do his part than to get his reward for it? Does not a boy care more to play a first-rate game than merely to win the cup? If not, he does not know what good sport is. It is the same with a

girl's work or play. She has the right to be treated with respect! But it is more important that she shall be worthy of respect. Let her first do her part well and treat every one else well. We all know pretty well what our duties are. Who can be sure what our rights are? Who knows how much his work is worth? It is easy to think too much about our rights, but one can hardly think too much of his duties. Besides, the straightest way to get our rights is not to force others to give them to us, but rather to look to our duties. As a rule, our rights will then fall to us, as fruit falls when it is ripe. Try it and see. Do you want good pay? Do your work so well that your employer cannot get on without you. There are never enough people who make themselves useful.

Society and the individual. — Does the family live for the sake of the child, or the child for the family? Does the pupil work for the school, or the school for the pupil? Does the citizen exist for the nation, or the nation for its citizens? The answer is, that every kind of society is a partnership. It is "each for all and all for each." We depend on one another and everyone's help is needed somewhere. As every cell in the body must be as healthy and perfect as possible, so a good man wants to be a first-rate, all-round individual, and at the same time a hearty, useful, social fellow. Our social rights and duties work both ways and link us together. The more the social man does for society, the more society can do, and generally does, for him. Society or the State cannot do much for anyone who is continually seeking to get his rights, instead of fulfilling his duties. The good nation will be full of people

who love to do just and social things for one another, who would even be willing to give up their lives, if need comes, like the brave life-savers on our coast.

Reciprocity. — This word means that we are tied up to each other's welfare. The rights of each are the duties of others. The duties of each translate into the rights of others. Unless we do our duties for them, they cannot get the rights which they need in order to give us our rights. Thus, if a man fails to pay his bills, others are going to fail to get the money which they need to pay their bills, on the punctual payment of which men's wages largely depend. Every one ought to understand this.

The divisions of our subject. — There are duties, such as voting and obeying the laws, which the citizens of a State owe each other for the support of their government. There are citizen's rights which go with these duties. It is at the same time a right and a duty to vote. Every one has a right to ask the help of the law. There is the grand right to be free. We call such rights and duties *political*, from a Greek word *polis*, which means "city." Politics rightly means the business of a city. It is one of the best words we use if we keep to its real meaning. There are questions forever coming up about the citizen's rights and duties. Thus, our fore-fathers thought the British government unjust, so they rebelled against it. But a considerable party, called Tories, believed that the rebellion was needless and wrong. This was a political question.

A great class of rights and duties grows out of the earning and possession of money or wealth. How shall we secure the things necessary for a civilized people, and

at the same time fairly apportion the earnings of all the workers for the utmost good of all? We call this second class of rights and duties *economic*, from another Greek word which means, first, good housekeeping, and then the management of money and food and the products of a city or State. It is about an economic question when we read in the papers of a railroad strike. Is the strike right or wrong? What ought to be done? What has the public to do about it? It may become a political question. The rights and duties of wealth constitute the science of political economy. They go down to the bed-rock of justice and humanity.

There are special duties which men owe each other, and corresponding rights touching the evils of crime, poverty, ignorance, and caste, and the differences between the backward and the more civilized races, and the immigration of new peoples into our country. The prosperous owe duties to the unfortunate, and these too have rights. Here arise difficult questions of *social science*, the third division of our subject.

Once more, there are duties and rights between the nations that make up the population of the world. These things constitute international business and give rise to *international law*. There is no greater subject before mankind than how to manage our common international business, as we manage business between the States of our American Union, so as never to have any more war. Every American boy and girl should wish to have a hand in settling this business right.

Civilization.—You see we are engaged in a magnificent quest. The savage man did not know what he was here in the world for. He did not know how to

coöperate with his fellows in order to carry out any useful enterprise — least of all, to join hands with men on the other side of the earth. But civilized man begins to see the grand object for which we are all living. It is to文明 the earth and make every available part of it serve mankind. It is to learn to live together comfortably, happily, and well, with all peoples as neighbors. It is to turn our energy and science, not, as men once did, in the way of destruction, but into vast constructive works for the common welfare. It calls for brave men and women as truly as the old times needed them. Thus the task and the opportunity of the American citizen becomes the task of citizens of the world. Nothing should be foreign to them.



A Walled City

TO MINT
AMERICAN

PART II

THE CITIZEN AND THE COMMONWEALTH; OR, THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

CHAPTER IX

WHAT GOVERNMENT IS FOR

Old World governments. — In the old days of history the chief business of a government was thought to be the defense of its people from the attacks of its neighbors, or of barbarians. It was too often the purpose of a king and his warriors to conquer other peoples. Those were the days when men kept hosts of slaves made captive in war. The great lords thought that a nation was powerful if it held other nations subject to it and compelled them to fight for it or to pay taxes to support its armies. The old-fashioned kind of government did little for the good of its people. Most cities had to be defended by walls and castles, and the people lived in fear of war. Our forefathers lived in this half-barbarous way for centuries. Even till now the national governments have treated each other with suspicion, and have devoted an enormous part of their care and money to providing means of defense.

The modern idea of government. — The trouble with the old, barbarous governments was that they existed for a few and not for the people. Our modern idea is that the government is for the people. This was in the minds of the men who founded the American republic.

The idea is going over the world, and changing all governments. In this view the chief business of the government is to enable us all to do certain grand things together which we could not do for ourselves alone, and thus immensely to increase our means of happiness. The government is the people working together.

Examples of the modern business of the government.

— The government pays for schoolhouses and teachers; it builds roads and keeps them in repair; it constructs lighthouses; it protects river valleys from floods and builds breakwaters against the sea; it sends our letters to every little hamlet all over the world. How could we do such things unless we coöperated to do them? A host of surveyors, engineers, clerks, postmen, and others are constantly carrying on the work of the government, sometimes in hazardous services, as in the life-saving department. This is the "civil service" of the people.

Another business of our government is to afford every one proper protection from injury and danger. Even if there were no malicious persons, there would be careless people without decent regard for the rights of others. We should still need rules, and public officers or police to see that people obeyed the rules. Suppose a man wants to make dynamite close to a city; some one must be ready to warn him not to endanger our lives. Suppose angry people quarrel, we cannot let them fight in the streets. Sometimes a city or a corporation is negligent and pollutes the water of a river so as to carry disease to the towns below. Such injury in the old days might have been a cause for war. We settle such trouble in our country quite amicably. Our fire department, calling for the bravest kind of men, is another way in

which we protect our homes more effectively by the government, that is, by acting together, than the richest man could do alone. What are the schools but a grand coöperative enterprise of all the people for the sake of the children?

What our government is. — When we in the United States speak of the government, we generally mean the President and the two houses of Congress at Washington. But, as we shall presently see, there is also a government or legislature in each State, as well as a government in every city or town. It is a government, for example, when at a town meeting the citizens decide how much money they will spend for roads and schools, and appoint a committee (the selectmen) and other officers who shall act in their name for the year. Congress is a great committee of the whole people of the United States to make suitable rules or laws for carrying out the purposes of government; each State legislature is a similar committee of the people of that State. The government is thus the method by which the people manage to secure life and property from injustice, and to carry on all sorts of public works.

Anarchists. — There are some people who do not like governments. The old kinds of government were dreadfully oppressive, and no one enjoyed liberty under them. Even now, with a "government of the people and for the people" the majority may sometimes blunder and inflict injury upon some of us. None of us likes to be forced to obey rules. How can we obey cheerfully if the rule or law seems foolish or unfair? Suppose we have to pay for a deal of public waste! There are those who love their liberty so much and are so tired of the old-

fashioned kind of government, that they see little need of any government; they say that people would behave better if they were not compelled to obey. Those who take this view are called "anarchists." The word *anarchy* means "no government."

Socialists. — What if we were founding a new republic? How would it do to hold all the lands and the mines and the forests in the hands of the government, as the trustee for all of us; to build and to own the railroads and the canals as public property, as we now own the streets and the parks; to give the business of running mills and factories, and providing and supplying the food and clothing to different departments of the government? Something like this is what the socialists want. This is almost opposite to the idea of the anarchists, and quite different from what we are doing now. The government would have to apportion to every one the work for which he is best fitted, and require him to do it; it would also assign to every one his wages or salary. It would be like the rule of an army. Which would you like best, to have your work laid out for you by rule and under penalties unless you obeyed, or to use your freedom to choose your own way of earning your living?

The fact that men hold two such different ideas about government seems to show that the best government is that which unites both ideas. It would be like a well-managed playground where, in order to secure the greatest liberty for every one to enjoy himself, all agree to sacrifice a little of their liberty, to keep rules and bounds, and to undertake some things, such as the care of the ground, together.

We must never forget that government is only the whole people acting together. How can it be more wise or just than the people who make it? If the citizens are lazy or selfish, the government cannot be satisfactory. The government does not make the people so much as the people make the government.

Our liberties.—Of all the rights that men seek, perhaps the greatest is liberty. We want liberty to travel, liberty to buy and sell, liberty to think, liberty of religion, liberty to grow and be ourselves—not the slaves or imitators of others. Many of us would prefer to manage for ourselves, and take some risk of failure, than to be directed and managed and fed and clothed ever so well by officials who could never be wise enough to know what is best for us. It is bad for us to depend upon others to help us get our lessons or do our tasks; it is bad to rely upon the government for what we can do for ourselves. This has often been tried, as when the imperial government of Rome provided the people with corn and made them beggars in consequence. On the other hand, when men are free to try experiments in their customs, their business, their schools, and to make improvements if possible; when they are welcome to find fault if the government becomes negligent—this stimulates the curiosity, the inventiveness, the energy, and the quick-wittedness of the people. Even when individuals make mistakes and suffer losses, this may be better than the mistakes and losses which a government that undertakes to do everything is liable to make. The government, like an unwieldy vessel, usually has to follow one fixed course; but the individual

citizens, if once they are free to try experiments, find shorter and easier ways.

As a matter of fact, all the progress that we know of in the world has come about through the thought and action of independent persons, like Galileo, John Hampden, and Thomas Jefferson, whom those in charge of governments have frequently thwarted and opposed. Our American way, therefore, is to allow as much liberty as possible to every citizen to think and to act for himself, because in this way the utmost energy is developed for the good of the whole people. We want to secure two things by working together in a commonwealth. One of them is efficiency. The other is more important: it is to develop each citizen into a strong, courageous, intelligent, and high-minded character. We agree to whatever is best for the common welfare, but nothing can be good for the whole body, unless it is good for the members of the body.

Two natural parties. — Men are apt to divide into parties over various subjects. There are natural drifts of opinion that tend to separate men. There are the "law and order" men, and the "individual liberty" men. The first group like to have everything well regulated. Thus, they favor the prohibition of intoxicating drinks, and they desire a strong central government at Washington, which with its long arm shall control every part of the country. Prussia is an extreme case of what the "law and order" people like to do. The other party object to entrusting great power to government officials. They prefer to trust the people rather than to trust a government. Thus, they hold that it is better for men to learn to form their own habits

than to have the best habits prescribed by the government. They think that we ought to be free enough to learn by our mistakes. They think that it is better for each locality to make its own rules (Home Rule) than to establish the same rules for every part of the country.

Do we need to follow one of these parties rather than the other? Is there not sense on each side? Is it not worth while to meet every new question that comes up with an open mind and act sometimes with the "law and order" group, and at other times with the "individual liberty" party?

The conservatives and the progressives. — There is another line of cleavage among men that works to make two parties. There are always some who wish the least possible change in their government. They are content with it as it is, or at any rate, they fear that changes will do more harm than good. They are the conservative party. Thus, in our American history the Tories or Loyalists opposed a revolution, preferring to remain as subjects of the British Empire. Then there are the radicals or progressives, who wish to make reforms in government. They are never satisfied with what is now, but want something better. Is it not well to have both these parties in the nation? One pulls and the other puts the brake on. Must we all belong to one or the other of these parties? What if we use each of them on occasion? The democracy is a grand scheme of coöperation. Why not compare the ideas of all the parties and groups of the people so as to combine what is good on both sides, and get what is better than either one by itself?

Let us look now at the forms and machinery of government and see how they work.

CHAPTER X

VARIOUS FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Monarchy. — The study of geography or history acquaints us with various forms of government besides our own. We can trace in the Hebrew Bible the beginnings of government under patriarchs. The patriarch was at first the father-chief or head of a family or tribe or clan. A strong chief would manage to combine other tribes of men using the same language. He would engage in war with neighboring tribes, and compel them to be his subjects or slaves. Presently he would become king of the country in which these tribes lived. His own tribe might still think of him as the father of the land, but the others would only know him as the sovereign. Until a hundred years ago most of the world lived in some monarchy, that is, under a king. He might be called emperor, or czar, or kaiser, or sultan. The name did not matter. The idea was that one man (or woman) had the power in his hands, precisely as the father generally had in those days over his household. The king was the chief judge to decide quarrels between his subjects, or to punish the disobedient. He had the choice of his advisers or ministers. He could usually leave his throne to one of his sons, most likely the oldest. The king was sometimes a real father to his people, like King Alfred of England, or Charlemagne. Some still think that a monarchy is the best kind of government.

A despotism. — We call a king who abuses his power and oppresses his people a “despot.” Sometimes we call him a tyrant, though strictly this word means one who seizes a government by force. It is dangerous for one man to hold vast power over other people’s lives. He easily comes to think that the people live and work for him alone. Thus, a famous French king said, “I am the State.” He is apt to grow jealous, suspicious, egotistic, and even insane. He becomes cruel and oppressive; or perhaps he is the weakling son of an able father, who surrounds himself with favorites, wastes the wealth of the land, and drags his nation into war. We have no use to-day for the most benevolent despot, even if he would feed and clothe us. Despotism never trains men to be intelligent, independent, resourceful, and watchful for the common good.

The limited monarchy. — We must not think that the most absolute king can do exactly as he pleases. The power is his only as his people grant it to him. The ablest despots, like Napoleon Bonaparte, always try to make themselves popular. Besides, there are always old customs or laws which even the despot has to regard. Thus, the Roman emperors kept the forms of the ancient constitution of the Republic. In modern times almost every monarchy has caught a little of the spirit of democracy. China has tried the form of a republic. Even Turkey has proclaimed a constitution, giving the people a show of power. There are kings who possess less power to-day than the speaker of the American House of Representatives. Whereas the old notion was that one man, the king, could rule over every one else, and wage war on his neighbors, and that “the king

could do no wrong," the new notion is that the people are the source of the power, and whether the head of the State is a king or a president, he must use his office for the people.

The aristocrats. — In the old days the people not only had to bear the yoke of the king, but the king's friends and relations and the chiefs of certain great families managed to share the power and to get a good part of the land of the nation; no one consulted the people. This class of noblemen constituted the aristocracy. A great lord or duke was a little king in the midst of his estates. These noblemen limited the power of the king and often quarreled with him. Their excuse for holding so much power and land was that they provided men for fighting the king's wars.

In the famous city of Venice, a ring of rich merchants managed the affairs of the government for hundreds of years without any king. They elected a sort of president, called the doge. When a few of the people, being rich or powerful or ambitious, usurp the government, we call it an oligarchy, or the government of a few. This is apt to be the most wasteful and oppressive of all kinds of government. Have we not heard of "rings" or oligarchies in America? Like the emperors in Rome, an oligarchy may use the machinery and forms of a republic to secure and keep the power for themselves.

Ancient republics. — Even when the government was called a republic, as in ancient Athens, citizenship did not mean the same that it means to us; for only a limited number of the people could vote or hold office, and the great majority were slaves. So, too, foreigners

coming to live in such a republic could hardly obtain the rights of citizens. The citizens were jealous of foreigners.

Popular government. — The world has at last discovered that no class of men, merely because they are strong and rich, ought to have authority, or office, or the right to make laws for others to obey. This change from the supremacy of one, or a few, or a class, to the acknowledgment of the equal rights of all, comes from the idea that men of every race or language are brothers, and that their interests are common. We try to make government rest upon the will of the whole body of citizens, who have to bear the burdens and expenses of the State; instead of treating a part as citizens and the rest of the people as "outsiders," the rights of citizens, under certain rules and with some exceptions,¹ are conferred upon all.

In most European countries, even though a king or emperor is at the head of the State, he is obliged to consult his parliament, that is, the delegates of the people. Nor could he long remain in power unless the majority of the nation chose to keep him. The rules or customs that restrain a king, the nobles, or the rich from oppressing a people are called the Constitution. Thus, while England is a monarchy, it is a constitutional monarchy. The prime minister, like Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Lloyd George, who represents the majority in Parliament, enjoys more power in directing the government than the king or queen; even the House of Lords

¹ The reader should find who are excluded from full citizenship by the laws of his State. What reasons support such laws? Is it good American doctrine to exclude men of any race from citizenship?

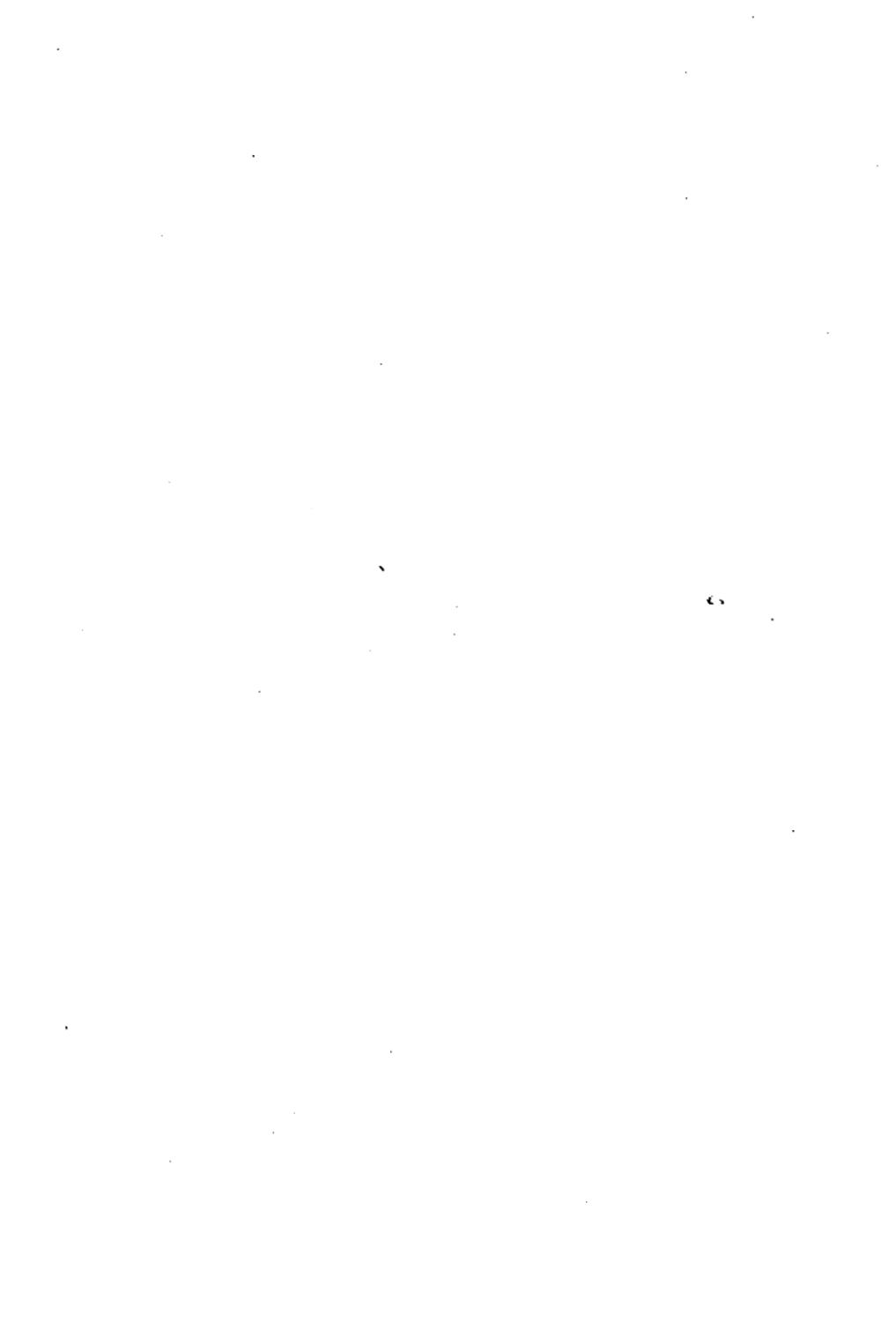
or nobles can do nothing against the will of the chosen representatives, who constitute the House of Commons.

The modern republic. — A republic may be defined, as President Lincoln was fond of saying, as “a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.” In this sense the old world governments tend to become republican, but all republics are not alike. England, for example, is substantially a republic, though without the name. The countries to the south of the United States are called republics and have presidents and congresses. But they have been generally governed by rings of rich men, who do not consult the people, who on their part have been unfortunately too little enlightened to care. Thus the names and the forms of a republic do not secure a true government of the people unless the people themselves have the will and intelligence to make their forms real.

A centralized government. — When the general government draws to itself under one great system the administration of all parts of the country, as France does, it is said to be *centralized*. If questions of local management or local expense, such as the salaries of the mayors, have to be referred for decision to some office or bureau at the capitol, it is called a bureaucracy, that is, a management through officials, instead of management through the people of the city or district. So far as people expect the central government to decide their local questions, or to pay the expense of their public works out of the central treasury, they are in danger of losing their sense of responsibility. They are more apt to permit waste or fraud if they do not have to pay for it directly; whereas if the central government is efficient,



Statue of Abraham Lincoln
By St. Gaudens, in Lincoln Park, Chicago



the people forget that it needs to be watched lest it fall into negligence or corruption.

The American government is designed to rest upon the people themselves. We shall see that the great central administration undertakes certain duties which concern the whole nation, while other public concerns are left to the people of each locality.

The basis of the American government. — The old idea was that the people could not be trusted. The American idea of government rests upon trust in the people. So long as many are ignorant, and many are selfish, there must be danger in any case; but Americans hold that it is safer to trust men with power than to treat them with suspicion. We begin to do this by trusting the children. Is there not a principle of fairness in almost every one, which, if appealed to, makes him wish to do right?

The Constitution. — Our American governments, whether of the States, or the Nation, begin with a statement of the purpose and the plan or framework upon which we, the people, agree to act together. This is the Constitution. It explains itself as you read it. It is intended to guard the powers, the rights, and the liberties of the people. No branch of the government, the President, or the Congress, must interfere with the other branches; but they must work together. No party, or majority, or even the Supreme Court, must ever do a wrong to the humblest citizen. No group of rich men must be able to buy the government. No favoritism must be exercised for the people in power or for their friends. The greatest men must not impose their will upon their fellows, but all men's wills must bow to

the laws, that is, to the principles of justice, which, being in our consciences, are above all men.

The spirit of a government. — What is there in a home or a school that no one can see, but every one feels? We call it the *spirit* of the place. It may be a quarrelsome or lawless spirit, and no one is comfortable with it. But there is also a kind, social, obliging, loyal spirit. You can do twice as much work in a place where this spirit is. The same spirit belongs to a good government. You might have the most excellent constitution and laws, but if the people pulled in opposite ways and the officials were disobliging, mercenary, and careless, the good machinery would not make a successful government. Indeed, a democracy, such as we seek to build up in America, needs more than anything else the friendly, democratic spirit. For what use would it be to hurrah and wave the flag, if the citizens could not work together and trust one another? This good spirit is what we mean by patriotism.

CHAPTER XI

LOCAL GOVERNMENT, OR HOME RULE

SUPPOSE the people in each village or town look to the great general government to do everything for them — to appoint police or constables, to build their roads, to pay for their schools, and finally to collect money for the expenses. In such a case there would be no *local government*, neither would the people have to meet to discuss their affairs. Would you like this? Who would see that the big central government took good care of the little villages? By *local government* we mean the arrangement which the people of any place make for their own order, peace, and convenience. There is an old proverb, “If you wish anything done well, see to it yourself.” This proverb tells the reason for local government.

The town meeting. — It is possible for the people of a small town or community to meet quite frequently and to consult for the common good: to agree, for example, to lay out a new road, to build a bridge, or to erect a schoolhouse, as well as to appoint proper officers, selectmen, constables, the school committee, and others. By common agreement and ancient usage, whatever reasonable action a majority of all present at a regular town meeting vote to take, all must acquiesce in. But what if the majority sometimes vote unwisely? It is nevertheless fairer for all; as a rule, to acquiesce, than it would be to quarrel and resist like so many barbarians.

Who does not sometimes make mistakes? The town meeting will occasionally make mistakes. Meanwhile there will be opportunity at another town meeting for the minority to persuade their fellow-citizens to correct the error. Now, if the minority quarreled and resisted, or refused to pay their share of the taxes, how could they expect the others to acquiesce in case they at last obtained the majority? "To do as you wish others to do to you" is our rule. It means that, whenever we are in a minority and, after a fair decision, are voted down, we should behave as we should wish the minority to do when, on another occasion, it is our turn to be the majority. How could we carry on government without this rule? The laws give power to the majority in a local government to enforce the decision of a regular meeting and to require the obedience of every citizen. But no good citizen needs to be driven by force to do what is fair. He would prefer, as Socrates did, to suffer an injustice from his government than to break the rules which bind all of us. In fact, we cannot live with others and not sometimes suffer injustice. Our business is not to *do* any injustice. The only exception to our duty to acquiesce in the rule of the majority is when we are asked to do something contrary to our consciences. No majority has the right to force men to do what they think is wrong. But such questions of conscience are unlikely to occur in local governments.

The idea of compromise. — We never have the spirit of democracy in a meeting or a town, unless we seek to get together and agree. Suppose we "meet each other half way" and each party yields something to the other. We thus *compromise* our differences. Is not this vastly

better than to quarrel, or for the majority to override the minority? Of course, we can never afford to compromise a truth or principle, or agree to do a wrong thing.

The origin of the town. — The town meeting is the simplest kind of government. Probably it is the survival of one of the most ancient forms, when all the freemen of a clan or a village of our Saxon or Aryan ancestors gathered to choose who should lead them to battle, or to say Yes or No to the proposal to make a foray against another tribe. The idea of the town was brought from old England by the early settlers who sought in the wilderness of New England the freedom to govern themselves. At first the towns were scattered, and often of large extent and irregular area. As the population grew, old towns were subdivided and new towns were made to suit the convenience of their inhabitants. As a rule, the town area is now five or six miles square. The meeting-place, or town hall, is near the center of the population, or often in the largest village of the township. The name and idea of the town, being found convenient, has spread from New England to many of the States where people from New England have settled.

The town meeting is sometimes called a pure democracy, that is, government by the people themselves, because all have an opportunity to express their opinion, and to vote upon all matters of public concern. The selectmen and other officers can only do as the people direct, and carry out the people's votes. The officer who disobeys the will of the people is liable to be called to account immediately. The terms of office are short, and

reëlection comes only to those who give satisfaction and command respect. Perhaps the reader has attended a town meeting in one of the old-fashioned towns, or knows some one who can tell how the people carry on their business. In Europe two of the Swiss cantons have this kind of government. Millions of the Russian peasants also have the *mir*, governed by a town meeting.

The county. — In states that have town meeting local government, a group of towns makes a county. The name and the idea came from old England, and from the time when some great lord, an earl or *count*, had authority over a large district, often called a *shire*. In States where the town is the unit of government it is unlikely that we should have counties at all if we were starting our institutions anew. As it is, they provide a method for maintaining court houses and jails in each county town, and for recording such important papers as deeds and titles to property. Perhaps there is nothing done by the county that could not be done as well and less expensively by either the town or the State government. In some parts of the country, however, especially in the South, where the population is much scattered, the county, and not the town, is the unit of government. The distances are too great in such counties to permit the voters to meet and discuss the common business.

The principal officers of a county of the New England type are officials of the court, — for example, the sheriff, who must look after the execution of the laws throughout the county, and the attorney or lawyer, who has charge of the interests of the people whenever injuries have been committed against any of them. There

Swiss Open-Air Parliament or "Town Meeting"



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are also commissioners, who look after the property of the county, its buildings, and its highways; the treasurer; the register of deeds, whose books show to whom all the lands in the county belong, and whenever any land changes hands; and the clerk, who keeps the records of the courts. In most of the States these officers are elected by the people, though it might not at all hurt the public service if we let the Governor or a Judge appoint some of them. The towns contribute their share to the county expenses, according to the amount of property in each town. The public buildings for the use of the county are in the *shire town*.

In the Southern and some of the Western States, where there is no town government, the county officers, namely, the board of commissioners or supervisors, have charge of the business which in towns is managed by the selectmen.

Of course, local government cannot be as direct in the county as in the town. On account of the greater size of the county, citizens cannot know each other as well as the men who live in a town. Since they must leave more of their business to their officers, they cannot feel as much responsibility for good government as under the township plan. It is easier, too, for a few persons to get and keep the power and the offices, while the larger number stay at home and lose their interest. When men stop discussing their affairs and leave them to others, they soon become unskillful.

The school district. — In some States there are small school districts, where people meet to consult and make necessary plans for the care of the schools. This might be an excellent arrangement if the people of the district

would be loyal in their attendance at the meetings and faithful to the interests of their children. It could also be a sort of training school in good politics; for when neighbors meet to consult for the interests of their district, they are apt to consult also about town or county affairs and to observe what needs to be done.

Local patriotism. — Suppose the people of a town resolve to make their town excel,— to maintain the best roads and schools, to beautify their streets with trees, to prevent disorder, to secure efficient and honest service, and to trust only their best men with office. This is *local patriotism*. The more such towns there are, the better it is for the State and the nation. Suppose the children were brought up like the children of the early Athenians, to be loyal to their native town and to help make it excel. They would be sure to be good citizens wherever they might live. The fact is that the best patriotism begins at home. How can citizens who have no interest in their own neighborhood, or their town, ever learn to devote themselves to the good of the nation? How can they care about a hundred million people if they do not respect their fellow citizens where they live? Search through the land for the stanchest patriots, and you will find that they are faithful to their duties at home.

CHAPTER XII

LOCAL GOVERNMENT: THE CITY

Cities. — When a town becomes quite populous, the whole body of its people cannot conveniently be assembled to consult for public matters. For while a small number can hear whatever may be said and can discuss questions, careful deliberation becomes difficult in a crowd; the wisest man may not be able to make his voice heard. Nor is there needful time for all sides to be patiently discussed. Public business also becomes complicated and extensive. New and costly enterprises are required for the health, comfort, and safety of the inhabitants. Frequent meetings are necessary to provide for these enlarged needs. The old simple methods of the town meeting are now outgrown. In such cases the legislature, upon request of the people of the town, may give a charter, that is, a constitution with suitable rules, for the establishment of a city with new machinery of government. The city government has often been made to look like a miniature legislature. It has followed the fashion of the English Parliament and has had two branches, a board of aldermen, and a common council, both branches being elected by the people. It usually has a mayor, chosen by the people, who corresponds to the governor of a State. Since the people make their city government, they agree to abide by what it votes to do, to obey the rules made for the city, and to pay the taxes. The city government cannot

do anything contrary to the laws of the State; neither can its charter be altered except by the method which the legislature prescribes.

The old-fashioned way of having two separate chambers in the city government, like an aristocratic kingdom, is passing out of use in the United States. A single chamber or council is simpler and better. Its members vary in number; perhaps there ought never to be too many to sit together around a table. They are paid for their services. They may be called aldermen or councilmen. Their title does not matter, but rather their faithfulness.

Two modes of election.—Sometimes a city is divided into districts, each of which chooses its own aldermen or councilmen. The people of a district in this case are not apt to choose the best man whom they could find in the whole city, but merely the candidate who can command the votes of his own district. It may be a man of whom the voters of the other districts disapprove. The alderman of a district is likely to think it his duty to get appropriations of money for his own part of the city, rather than to consider the interests of all parts.

The other mode of electing aldermen is by a *general ticket*. In other words, all the voters may vote for all the aldermen. In this case the candidates are likely to be known outside their own wards; and it is thus possible to choose a board with reference to their character, ability, and experience, who will seek to serve the whole city, and not merely one part of it.

By the latter method it might happen that the political party which had the most votes in the city would

choose all the aldermen. If, for example, the Democrats elected the mayor, they might elect the whole board of aldermen too. The first method would allow the smaller party the chance of winning a majority in some of the districts, and so of having part of the aldermen. On the other hand, if the majority of the voters are intelligent enough to wish good government for their city, they will agree to choose the best men of all parties for their aldermen. This plan has often been successfully tried. Indeed some States forbid the printing of party names in the ballots. Why should we care to what national party a man belongs, if he is a fine and public-spirited citizen? Again, it is possible, as we shall explain later, to use the plan of *proportional representation* in voting, so as to give every considerable group of citizens its fair share of the members of the council.

The city government and the legislature. — The legislature is largely for the purpose of making laws for all the people of the State. It sometimes undertakes highways and other public works. It provides hospitals for the insane. It takes charge of such of the poor as can claim no home or residence in any town of the State. It pays the expenses of the militia, who may be called upon in some great emergency, like a conflagration. But the total amount of money expended by the State government is comparatively small, often smaller than the cost of managing certain great railways or manufacturing companies within its borders.

The duties of the city government, on the contrary, are largely in administering the expenditures of money. The city government has no laws to make except certain petty rules—for example, about the public grounds, or the

care of sidewalks and streets. But the amount of money to be expended for police, for lighting the streets, for water and sewerage, and many other purposes, is very great. The largest city of a State, as New York, Boston or Chicago, may require more money than the legislature has to dispose of. The cost to each citizen of managing the city may be many times the cost to each for managing the State, and much more than the cost to each inhabitant for carrying on the national government. Thus, while the State legislature chiefly makes or alters laws, the city legislature chiefly votes the expenditure of money. It is like the board of directors of a great mill. If it is wasteful or extravagant, it will increase the expense to each inhabitant or incur a great debt. It needs therefore, like the mill, the services of able and honest men. On the other hand, since the city government has the expenditure of money, it becomes an object of temptation to idle, designing, and unprincipled men, often unable to manage their own affairs, who see in the great public treasury the opportunity for plunder. Thus notorious "rings" have contrived by various corrupt practices—cheating at the polls, bad appointments to office, bribery and fraud—to pillage the people to the extent of millions of dollars and to roll up great burdens of debt.

Where responsibility lies.—When the people, who are the stockholders in the vast public property of a city, choose men to be their directors in the common council whom they would not choose or trust in any private charge of their own, the blame rests upon the people; and since the less intelligent part of the people would not willingly vote for bad men who make it more



City Hall and Municipal Building, New York

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costly to live in their city, the greater blame rests on intelligent citizens for their carelessness in letting worthless directors expend the public money without protest.

The commission form of government. — Various improvements have been designed over the old-fashioned style of city government. People have become tired of the machinery which wasted the public money and left the city with filthy streets, insufficient schoolhouses, and no adequate protection against fire and disease. One of the better methods is the *commission* form of management. A small committee or cabinet of perhaps five or seven persons is chosen for a considerable term of office and for their ability and character. They may be chosen from beyond the city or the State, if abler men can so be procured. Good democracy does not necessarily require that they be elected directly by the people any more than that judges be elected directly. But they may be chosen or appointed by chosen representatives of the people, and they must be removable if the people so desire. The commissioners divide the important departments of the city work, and so bear direct responsibility to do their best for the people in whose behalf they are granted the power and money needed for their task. The charter or constitution of the city may provide that the chairman of the commission shall serve as mayor.

The city manager. — Another style of city charter provides for a city manager who has large powers to select and to change his assistants, the fire commissioner, the chief of police, and others. He is like the railroad superintendent who appoints his chiefs. The manager now becomes responsible to the council who

appoint him, or to the people who elect him, for the whole executive conduct of the city. Every one knows whom to praise if things go well, or to blame if things go amiss. Some city charters, for example, that of New York City, make the mayor a city manager with immense responsibility and the power to match it. The people find that the method which works best for efficiency in a great business is likely to be the best for carrying on their splendid coöperative business.

The budget. — A city with ever so good management needs the council, or some trustworthy committee, to oversee the working of the officials. A strong committee must take care of the finances. This finance committee should apportion the appropriations of public monies and make up the budget or list of expenses. The people who pay the money ought thus to be able to understand and control the spending of the money. The budget needs to be published in time to allow wasteful items to be vetoed or forbidden.

Does not a city, as well as a little town, need some form of town meeting so that its citizens may consult directly together over its affairs? There are charters, good for small cities, which arrange for such a town meeting. Since no public hall is large enough to hold all the citizens, a certain percentage of the citizens are designated to meet and act for the rest. The city of Newport, R. I., has tried such a plan. Perhaps some day the citizens of each precinct or ward of a city will meet before election in town-meeting fashion in their district hall or schoolhouse, and discuss their civic affairs, and become better acquainted with one another and with their candidates. It may interest readers or pupils to

inquire what the best things are which their town or city government does for them.

Village charters. — In the newer States, where the people are sanguine in expecting marvellous increase in numbers and prosperity, it is common to grant city government to a very small population, often to a few hundred. In the older States a city means more than in the West. In Massachusetts, for instance, the rule is not to give a city charter to less than twelve thousand people; and there are towns with a larger population which still prefer to govern themselves in town meeting.

A town often contains a large village which needs water, a fire department, and police, like a city. But it may not seem altogether just to tax the farmers outside the village for these increased needs of the villagers. The custom in some States, therefore, is to grant a charter to the village, as a corporation, to provide itself with such extra facilities as the larger and more scattered population of the township would be unwilling to pay for. In this case the villagers pay two taxes, one as their share of the government of the township, and the other tax for themselves.

The injustice to the farmers in helping to support a village within their borders is not so real as they are apt to think. For the increase of wealth in the village raises the value of the farms, provides better roads, and gives the farmers a good market for all that they can produce. Thus the good of one part of the township proves to be the good of the whole, and is consequently worth paying something for.

CHAPTER XIII

THE STATES AND LEGISLATIVE GOVERNMENT

States. — In the old days families joined into clans, and clans made up tribes, and finally tribes of kindred people were united for common defense into kingdoms and nations. So, somewhat after the old model, we have townships forming counties, and counties making States.

The sovereignty of the State. — Each State in some respects is like a separate nation. Thus, it can make laws for its people as though it were independent. The laws may differ from the laws of the adjoining State. It can make new towns and counties, and change the old towns. It can lay down the rules for local government, or alter them. The towns and cities get all their authority from the State. The State makes laws for the schools and has its superintendent of education; it can also have a military force, its *militia*, for preserving order. The State provides for courts and police to enforce its laws.

The State and the citizen. — The State, that is, all of us acting together, has to keep in mind two things — the welfare of all and the protection of each citizen. Thus, the State has the same right over the land as once belonged to a tribe or to a king. It can take anyone's land or other property for a public purpose, as for a railroad, or for the health of a city. This use of its sovereignty is called *eminent domain*. Generally the State pays for what it takes. Not even for the good of

the people should we treat any citizen harshly. On the other hand, no good citizen would wish to stand in the way of the public welfare. We all sometimes have to suffer inconvenience and loss for the sake of the others. This is a part of "the day's work." If a government can ask us to give up our lives on occasion, so it can demand our property in the case of a great emergency.

Why we have States. — A foreigner might wonder why we need to have States with many costly governments and different laws. Why would not one great State, like France, be better? The foreigner might also say that the map of our States looks like a checker-board, as if they had been made to order, unlike the states of the Old World, with their irregular boundaries, which grew through many centuries of change.

One reason for this is that the States are for the sake of convenience, in order not to load the great general government with too many duties. It would be cumbersome whenever the people in Chicago wanted to try the experiment of a new law, to have to go to Washington to get permission. It is vexatious both for Ireland and the British Empire that the Parliament at Westminster legislates for local affairs.

The old States. — The chief reason, however, why we have States, is because our forefathers settled this country in separate colonies and with different customs. When our forefathers asserted their independence, the thirteen separate colonies each had a government of its own — a governor appointed by the king and an assembly or legislature chosen by the people of the colony. The people of a colony were not quite free to do as they pleased; for the royal governor might *veto* or forbid

what the legislature voted. The government of each colony was based upon a charter or a constitution made for it in England; which required the colonists to obey the laws and government of Great Britain. Thus the British Parliament could make laws which seriously injured the interests of the colonies, while the colonies had no delegates or representatives in Parliament to defend their rights. The colonies therefore took the sovereignty, which had before been vested in the crown, into their own hands and became independent States; henceforth each chose its own governor, who represented the will of the people. Instead of the royal charter, each made its own constitution. There was, indeed, a period before 1789 when any State, as Massachusetts or South Carolina, had the right to establish a custom house, and to exclude goods from other States and hinder trade, and when it would have been possible for the different States to become separate nations.

New States. — After the Federal Union was established and the country filled up with people, new States were settled in what had before been wilderness. Florida was bought of Spain. The vast region known as the Louisiana Purchase, comprising the Mississippi Valley and the Great Northwest, was bought of Napoleon, who then ruled France and her possessions; and later Texas, and a great portion of what had belonged to Mexico, including California, were added to the national domain. From time to time the new lands were made into Territories, with a temporary government, somewhat like the old colonies; and again, when the Territories grew populous, they became States, after the model of the original thirteen States.

Representative government. — It would, of course, be impossible for all the people of a State to come together, as in a town meeting, to consult or to make laws. They therefore choose their representatives at regular intervals — every year, or once in two years, or in four years — to meet and discuss the business of the State. This is the legislature. Since the members have to give up considerable time and to incur some expense, we make them a reasonable compensation. In return the State claims the right to their faithful and disinterested service. This makes it possible for poor men as well as the rich to serve the State.

The beginning of legislatures. — It seems as if the persons at the head of a government would desire the advice and consent of the people who pay the expenses. But this was not acknowledged in the fierce old times when "might made right." The famous story of King John and the Magna Charta shows how hard it was for free men to win their rights. Representative government and its free methods have slowly been worked out by our fathers in old England through many centuries. When the kings needed money and soldiers, they were accustomed to gather the leading men from all parts of the kingdom, including the great merchants of London and other towns. This was the beginning of Parliament. The king thus learned to say "Please" or "By your leave" to his people.

How Parliament got power away from the king. — Although the king or his minister could propose any plans, such as a campaign against France, it was held necessary, after the Magna Charta was granted, to have the consent of Parliament, in order to provide the neces-

sary means; and since the king often wanted money, he was forced as often to summon his Parliament and ask its consent to levy taxes. So it came to pass that bargains were made with the king, that if he would give Parliament what they wanted, if he would reform certain abuses or dismiss bad ministers, they in turn would grant his requests for money. Thus, while once the king used to propose and command, and the Parliament at most could only refuse to pay money to help him, now at last it has come to be the Parliament that proposes plans or makes laws, which the king or queen can hardly venture to veto or forbid. And whereas once the ministers and great officers were made by the king's appointment, now they are practically the choice of the majority of Parliament. The Parliament, in the name of the people, has assumed the power not only to make laws, but also to carry out the laws. The reader will think of other countries whose people have had to struggle to get control over a king's government.

American Parliaments.—All our legislatures, including the National Congress, follow the model of Parliament. In old times, however, only the rich and powerful came to Parliament, and the poor were not represented; but our legislatures are chosen by all the people. The legislature is thus a great town meeting made up, indeed, not of all the people, but of delegates or messengers whom their fellow citizens have chosen to consult and vote for them, and whom they pay for their services. Whatever, therefore, the legislature decides to do, the people must acquiesce in; or, if they do not like the action of their representatives, they must wait till another election, and then choose different men, who may act more wisely.

The legislature and the people. — If the legislature do not wish to take the responsibility of any action, they may refer it to the people, who shall vote *Yes* or *No*. Thus laws to forbid the sale of intoxicating liquors are sometimes referred to the people either of the whole State, or, by *local option*, to the people of each city or town. The constitution of some States provides means, in case an act of the legislature does not generally please the people, to permit them on the petition of a certain percentage of voters, to make it the subject of a *referendum* or appeal to all the voters of the State. Citizens may always petition the legislature to consider a subject which seems to them important, and in some States a petition may require the legislature to submit the matter to the people. This is known as the *Initiative*.

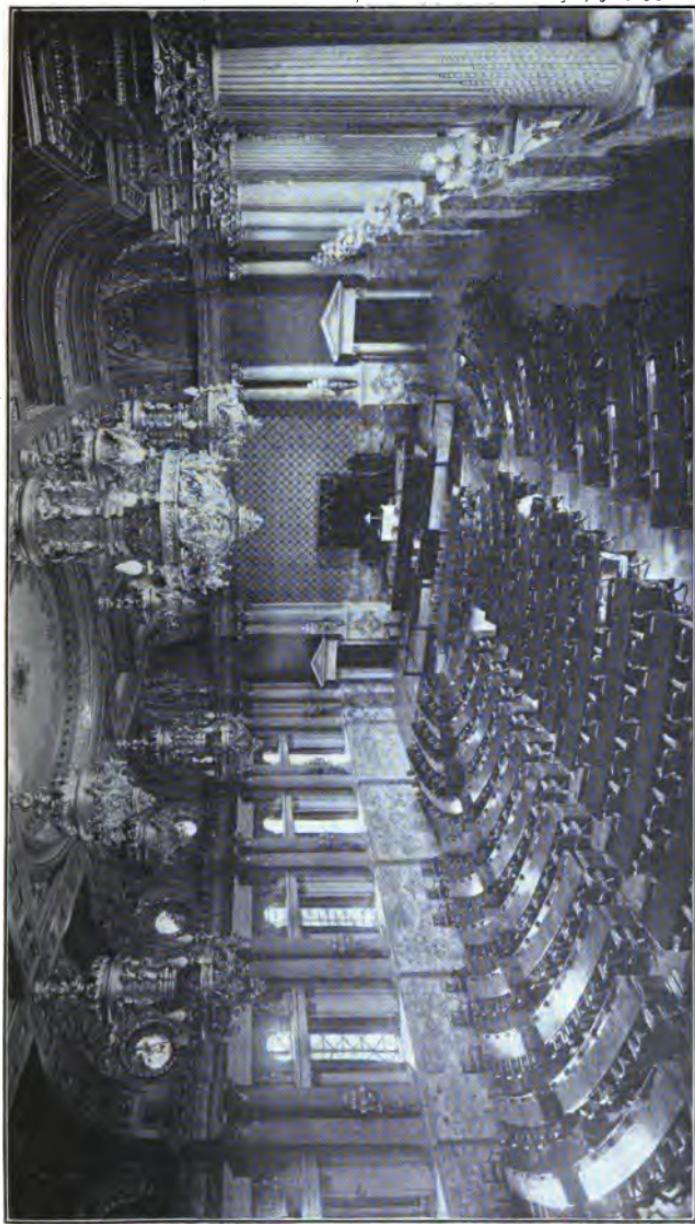
The State constitution with its fixed rules binds and limits the legislature. Sometimes, especially in the new States, the constitution is very long, almost like a law-book. No change can be made in the constitution without a direct vote of all the people of the State. Thus, although the legislature has many powers such as kings once wielded, it may always be held close to the will of the people. Even if it passes acts which the people disapprove, it is liable to have such acts reversed by a new legislature, or by a direct appeal to the people.

The two houses of the legislature. — As long as mankind was divided into two classes of people, Lords and Commons, Parliament also was divided into an upper house, where the nobles sat, and a lower house, where sat the representatives of all the rich people who were not noble; but, though we have no longer two classes or

castes of people in America, we still retain in our legislatures this old division of an upper house, commonly called the Senate, and a lower and larger House of Representatives. We do this partly from the force of ancient custom, but also because many believe that subjects receive more careful consideration from being discussed and voted upon by two different bodies. The Senate, or upper house, is generally much smaller than the other body. There may be one or even more representatives from a town, but often several towns may be required to form a district to choose a senator. Thus, the legislature of Massachusetts has forty members in the Senate and two hundred and forty in the House of Representatives. The reader may easily find how many members each house of the legislature has in his own State.

The duties of legislators.—There are two different ideas of the duty of members of a legislature. Some think that they are strictly bound to do whatever the majority of their constituents wish. According to this view, a member of the legislature ought to vote against his own judgment, if he believes that the people so desire. If he cannot conscientiously do this, he ought to resign and let some one be chosen who will vote as the people wish. Will the rights of the minority be properly cared for, if the majority of voters can turn out or recall an independent member of the legislature who differs from them on some hard question? Is it good for the people that the majority shall be able easily to override the others?

The other view of the duties of the legislators is that they ought to be trusted to act freely according to their



Hall of the House of Representatives in the Pennsylvania State Capitol

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best judgment of the people's interests. They are chosen as experts, or at least persons of experience, to bestow their best judgment on the questions presented. A legislator may thus sometimes be obliged to vote against his party or to take the unpopular side. What use is it to elect wise and conscientious legislators unless the people are willing to trust them?

Trusting the people. — Who are most worthy to be trusted, the members of a legislature or the people who chose them? Too often there is distrust on both sides. The legislators and other officials think that they know best about public business, and dislike to submit certain subjects to the people. On the other hand, the legislature (and the Congress also) has often done such careless things as to mar its reputation for wisdom and integrity. The people will surely distrust the legislature if its members forget that their power comes from the people. The legislature does not exist to give men offices, but to study and settle questions that require time and consideration. The fact is, whenever a subject can be presented to the people in a form simple enough to answer *Yes* or *No*, and with the plain reasons for or against it, they are at least as apt to vote honestly and correctly as legislators themselves, or as a group of college graduates. Whenever, then, a reasonable number of them wish to vote directly on any subject, why should they not be permitted to do so? Of course they should have proper provisions to understand the subject and to guard against hasty or inconsiderate action, and to protect the rights of the minority.

State rights and State jealousy. — In the earlier days of the Republic, the people of one State were often afraid

and jealous of the people of other States, somewhat as in the ancient history of Greece the people of Sparta were jealous of Athens. It was feared that the strong and populous States might contrive to make laws to hurt the weaker States. The smaller States, as Delaware and Rhode Island, would not come into the Union at all without being given the same number of senators in Congress as New York and Pennsylvania had. The Southern States especially, where slaves were still held, were anxious not to be meddled with. When men become suspicious of each other, they are apt to think more of their *rights* than of their *duties*. So it was with the States. Most persons thought that a citizen owed his duty to his State first and to the Union afterward; they cared more for the State flag than for the National flag.

Our people, however, have learned that whatever is good for one State is good for the others. If the people of Alabama are poor, so much the worse for New York. As in a football team, the strength and skill of each member are necessary to win the game.

State patriotism. — If any State has had a memorable history, as Virginia or Massachusetts, if it has produced great men, if it has established good laws, and secured the freedom and happiness of the people, the latter naturally take great pride in their State.

By as much as it has made them happy, they are bound to do their loyal part to maintain its good laws and its prosperity. As long as we belong to a school or a college, we are responsible for its welfare. So with our relation to the town or State: we are bound to stand by and make it a success. If we go somewhere else we

must do the same there. This feeling is State patriotism, and, like local patriotism, the more citizens possess it, the better for the Nation. Thus, one can be a good patriot in his own State and at the same time be glad to see other States flourish.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PEOPLE ACTING IN CONGRESS

The State and the Nation.—Our American idea of government is that the people shall hold the reins of power, so far as possible, in their own hands; that they themselves shall be responsible for their own error if ever they choose unworthy or incapable public servants; and that they must not turn over to others to do or to determine what they can do themselves. Thus, the people of a town or city must not look to the legislature to build their roads or choose their school committee or provide water and light; but the people of each town must provide for their own local needs, or suffer the consequences of their neglect. So, too, each State, through its legislature, must consult and act in matters that touch the interests of all parts of the State, without expecting the Nation to interfere to save the people of the State from the results of their mistakes or their negligence. The people of the State must be responsible for their own school system and for good order within their borders, and therefore for proper laws; but they should not without extraordinary reasons look to the Government at Washington to vote money for their education or to provide police to enforce the laws of the State. Our American plan, therefore, is to leave as much as we can to the honor and patriotism of the people of each town or State. Under the name of

“democracy,” this idea is going over all the world. We ought not to call it American any longer.

National government. — We have seen that many subjects belong to all the people of a State together. No town or county or city must be suffered to do anything to the detriment of the health or the welfare of the people of other towns. Every town, therefore, must obey the laws of the State. Even if the laws do not seem wise for every town, its people must acquiesce till they can persuade the legislature to change the law. As each citizen must acquiesce in what the town meeting does, and pay his share of the expenses of his town accordingly, so the town or county must yield to the greater meeting of the State, that is, the legislature. So, too, between the State and the Nation there are many subjects of common or general interest, for which, therefore, all the people in the United States are equally responsible. These subjects make the basis of our General or National Government.

The servants of the people. — When the Government becomes general, it is not the less in the hands of the people. The people cannot, however, meet to hear and discuss the numerous questions that arise. As in the case of the State legislature, the people choose men who shall give their time and attention to advise and act for them. These chosen men are accordingly paid a generous salary, that, whether rich or poor, they may give up their private business and devote themselves to the public good. They are bound in honor not to neglect the public business for their own pleasure, or to make money; or to seek reëlection. The responsibility does not, however, cease to rest with the people. They

must still watch their representatives; and if these fail to act wisely, they must send abler or more honest men in their place. Thus the power always rests with the people, who are themselves to blame if their National Government is foolish or corrupt. If the Government is extravagant, it must be because the people have chosen unfaithful servants; or if the Government involves the Nation in dangerous misunderstanding with another nation, it is because the people have chosen foolish men to act in their name.

Congress. — The national Congress may be called the great "town meeting" for the country, or the legislature for all the States. Here, however, each member represents thousands, or, in the case of the Senators of populous States, millions of his fellow-citizens.

The beginning of Congress. — Before the colonies had won their independence from Great Britain they had a kind of union among themselves and a congress to act for them. This union was called a confederation; but it had no power to raise money, unless the States chose to heed its request. Its president was merely the chairman of its meetings; and it had no courts to settle disputes between the citizens of different States. However many delegates were present from a State in the old Continental Congress, they could cast but one vote. The smallest State had as much power in deciding questions as the largest. Moreover, the States were jealous of one another. The confederation was not, therefore, very strong, and the States repeatedly refused to do what Congress asked.

The Federal Union. — For a little while after the War of Independence, the States tried the experiment of



The Capitol at Washington

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acting almost independently of each other. It proved a bad and dangerous experiment. New York might make laws to hurt or to tax the commerce of the people of New Jersey or Connecticut. There was no sure way to provide for the common good or the security of the States. In those days there were pirates on the seas, and there were aristocratic governments that did not like our ideas of democracy. There was no treasury with money in it, or the means to secure money. The war of the revolution had left a large debt to be paid. A convention was therefore called, which met in Philadelphia in 1787. It included our greatest men — Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, and Madison. It finally worked out the plan for our present Union, and recommended it to the people. According to the new plan the States agreed, by the vote of their people, to give up some of their independence, and to commit to Congress the charge of matters which concern all the people of the Nation. No State now could do anything to injure the people of another State. No State could erect custom houses on its boundaries to collect taxes from the commerce of the other States. The new Union could have a treasury so as to pay its bills, and courts with the necessary authority to settle cases which State courts cannot decide.

The Federal Union. — The statesmen who drew up the Constitution doubtless thought that no State or group of States would ever want to resist the authority of the National Government, much less withdraw from the Union and set up an independent government. Unfortunately they did not make any clear statement upon this point. Thus there came to be those in both

the North and the South who had an idea that States might vote themselves out of the Union, as they had voted themselves in. It was not till after the Civil War that the people of the whole Nation came to see what the Nation is; how important union for the general good is, how unfair it is for any State or section to withdraw without regard for the rest of the States, or without their consent; and how the section that cuts itself off is likely to suffer injury, as well as to inflict it upon the others.

How Congress is made up. The Senate.—Every State, however small, is entitled to choose two Senators, who are elected to serve for a term of six years. One third of the Senate are elected every two years, so that the Senators' terms overlap each other. It is never possible, therefore, as it might be in the House of Representatives, to have a Senate of wholly new members. The Senators are supposed to be the representatives of all the people of a State. If any bill or proposal for a law is passed by the House of Representatives, it must then obtain a majority in the Senate. So, likewise, the bills which are passed by the Senate must obtain the consent of the House. The Senate has the sole power with the President to make treaties with foreign nations. It may act as a court to try certain public servants, as, for example, the President, if accused by vote of the House of Representatives of criminal abuse of his office. It also can confirm or reject the appointment of certain important officials, such as judges and custom-house collectors, made by the President. It is thus intended to serve as a check upon a hasty or wrong-headed President, who could do little harm against the will of the representatives.

of the people of the States. The Vice-President regularly presides over the Senate, without having a vote, unless there is a tie, that is, an equal vote on each side.

The House of Representatives. — Every State, however small, has at least one Representative in Congress. The number of Representatives which a State may send depends upon its population. The House of Representatives numbers more than four hundred members — a rather large body for the purpose of deliberation. The Speaker, chosen by the Representatives, and from the political party which has the majority of Congressmen, presides over the House. The House is chosen every two years, directly by vote of the people. Since the Senators are chosen for a longer term, it may happen that the majority of one body differs from the majority of the other. The House is supposed to represent the newest and freshest thought of the people, while the Senate represents the caution of the Nation, which would hold the Government back from hasty action. It is doubtful, however, if the one body is wiser than the other. Neither are the two houses of Congress, or of a legislature, more certain to serve the interests of the people than one body having the sole responsibility for prudent action would be. Moreover, is it fair that States which have a population only large enough to choose one or two Representatives, should hold as great power in the Senate as New York and other States with their millions of people possess? What if the small States should some time offer to relinquish a privilege that gives them more than their share of political power?

The Territories in Congress. — Where the buffaloes once roamed over the wilderness, prosperous common-

wealths have grown up into States. But we still have territorial possessions — Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippine Islands, Guam, and Tutuila; the Panama Isthmian Canal Zone, Porto Rico, and the small Danish Islands in the West Indies. A regularly organized Territory may appoint one or more delegates, who can speak on the floor of Congress, but may not vote. Congress passes laws for the Territories, and establishes courts until they are admitted as States, with constitutions of their own. The District of Columbia is governed by Congress like a Territory. The people of the Territories cannot take part in national elections, even when they are recognized as American citizens. This would hardly be fair if the territorial arrangement were permanent. A Territory is a sort of child-state on its way to its full rights or its independence a little later. The case of the District of Columbia is different. As the seat of Government, it can never become a State. But it has a larger population than some States possess. Is it not a needless hardship that its people suffer disfranchisement?

Congressional districts. — The Representatives are generally elected by *districts*, which must contain an equal population. The number of districts in a State is liable to be altered once in ten years after the census is taken. If the new States gain rapidly in numbers, while older States hardly gain at all, the latter may lose in Congressmen. The House of Representatives is large enough now, and the population of the country is increasing. It is therefore necessary to assign a larger number of people to each congressional district. At first thirty thousand made a district. Now more than two hundred

thousand are required. There may be States which have not so large a population as this, and which therefore have more than their due share of weight in Congress.

The Representative usually resides in his district, but there is no law to prevent the people from choosing an able man from another part of the State. Some of the States allow one or more of their Representatives to be chosen from the whole body of voters *at large*. Why should we not choose our Representative regardless of where he may reside in the State? We like to be free to choose our physician or lawyer wherever he happens to live.

Gerrymandering. — It is possible for the party which has the majority in a State to lay out the Congressional districts so that the people of the opposite party will lose the advantage of their numbers. If, for example, a small party would naturally carry three out of seven districts of a State, the division may be made so that the great bulk of its voters will be thrown into two districts, or only one. Thus, a district has been known as the "shoestring district," from its shape on the map.

Is it not foolish for a party to do a thing which it would call unjust, if the other party should come into power and attempt to do it? For the same rule holds between parties as between men, namely, to treat each other as they would each wish to be treated. Otherwise injustice or fraud has to be paid for, sooner or later.

The powers of Congress. — The chief power of Congress is in levying taxes and spending money. We have come to think of the revenue and expenses of the United States in terms of billions of dollars. The method of raising this great sum rests with Congress, which by

wisdom and fairness may distribute the burden equally, or for want of care or honesty may annoy and oppress the people, out of whose labor the National expenses must be paid. A considerable part of the annual taxation goes to pay interest upon debts incurred in time of war. Another enormous sum goes in the form of pensions and insurance, on account of wounded or disabled soldiers. Many hundred million dollars are required for such purposes as long as nations think it necessary to maintain armies and navies. Thus, by far the largest part of the taxation is to pay the cost of strife.

In all the appropriations, especially for improving harbors and the navigation of rivers, and for government buildings, such as post offices and custom houses, there is opportunity for lavish waste of the public money. Unless, then, the people send conscientious Representatives to vote upon the expenditures, they must pay heavy taxes. Readers may be interested to inquire what governmental expenditures give the people their full money's worth in useful returns?

Congress has power to pass important acts concerning the Territories and the great public lands; concerning the railways which pass from one State to another, affecting the value of their property; concerning trade and intercourse with foreign nations, either to encourage or discourage trade, travel, and immigration. In all this legislation, great interests and the rights of individuals may be jeopardized by foolish, partisan, or dishonest Congressmen.

Congress passes laws touching the Indians, and votes the supplies of food, blankets, tools, and farming im-

plements required by various treaties, as well as the means for establishing and maintaining schools to educate and civilize the Indians. Negligence or dilatory action in these votes may easily lead to injustice and violence.

Congress has also the responsibility of sustaining and improving the service of government, as in the case of the post office, the lighthouses, and the life-saving stations.

There are important subjects in which the powers of Congress lie so close to the rights reserved to the States that much wisdom is required not to involve the general Government in meddlesome action. What if the time is ripe in one part of the country for legislation on the hours of labor, and not in another? Shall Congress act for the whole nation, or leave each State to proceed in its own time and way? It takes patience and good temper for millions of people to learn to get on together!

The House of Representatives must choose a President of the United States, if, as may happen, the electors chosen by the people fail to choose one. The Senate must, in like manner, elect a Vice-President. The choice for President must be from the three highest names voted for by the people; for the Vice-President, from the two highest.

The appeal to the country. — Once in two years a new House of Representatives must be elected. If, meanwhile, bad laws have been passed, or injurious taxes and wasteful expenses have been voted, the people can condemn the bad legislation by refusing to vote again for the men who were responsible. If the same men are returned to the new Congress, this will be a vote of confidence in them on the part of the people.

CHAPTER XV

THE PEOPLE AND THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

The People and the Executive. — The first step in public business is to decide what to do. This is legislation; it is the work of the town meeting, or the legislature, or Congress. It still remains to accomplish the work. In a simple ancient village, as on the playground, the same persons might first consult and make rules, and then proceed to act together. Even then it becomes necessary to have leaders or chiefs to direct. But when much business has to be done, it is necessary to apportion it, and entrust certain persons with the care of it. This is the executive branch of the government. Sometimes a committee of three or more persons is given the charge of the public business, as in the case of the selectmen of towns, the school committee, the overseers of the poor, and various other commissions for public works. In Switzerland an executive council of seven members is at the head of the government.

Undivided responsibility. — The world has found that when work of any sort needs to be done, or important action must be carried out, some one person should have the responsibility for it; for that which is the business of several to do may easily be neglected. Thus in a ship there is one captain whom every one must obey. So we do well to put the execution of the laws of the nation and the direction of the Government into the hands of



The White House and the President's Office

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one man, the President; or in the State, the governor; or in the city, the mayor. As long as he serves, he shall be responsible for the faithful discharge of his office, as well as for the other officers appointed to assist him, who must therefore act loyally in his support. The less the responsibility of the mayor or President is divided with others, the freer he is, like the captain of the ship, to act promptly and efficiently. But he cannot act contrary to the laws which the people or their representatives make. If he is unfaithful or incapable, or abuses his power, blame can be brought directly home to him, and he can be displaced. For this end, the executive officer is not commonly elected for a long term, often for only a year. The President is elected for only four years, and no President has been reëlected for more than a second term. No executive officer in this country can therefore long abuse his power.

The veto power. — A curious custom, coming from the days of royalty, gives to a President, or governor, or mayor, the right and duty to forbid or veto the passage of an unwise law. Instead, therefore, of adding his official signature to such a law, which is the final step to make the law or vote valid, he must return it to the body which passed it, with his reasons for refusing to sign it. This veto power does not, however, give one man the power entirely to thwart the will of the representatives of the people. If, after further deliberation, the bill or law secures a vote of two thirds of both the legislative branches, it is passed over the "veto," and becomes a law without the consent of the chief executive. The bill may also be passed if the executive leaves it unsigned. It often happens that legislative bodies pass a bill of

appropriations, some of which are good while others are bad; in such a case some constitutions and charters permit the governor or mayor to veto such items or parts of a bill as he may deem injurious. The reader may like to find out whether the veto power exists in his own State or city. He may also like to inquire if there may not be other and better ways to check too hasty or foolish legislation.

The power of the President. — The President of the United States corresponds in some ways to the head of a monarchy. When the Constitution was framed, only a few people dreamed that the nations could get on together safely without war; the President was accordingly named as the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. This rather undemocratic power might be so used, if we had a foolish President, as to engage us in hasty acts of aggression or war which the people would never have consented beforehand to take. This fact makes the greater need of care in the election of our chief magistrate. His signature, or at least his consent, is necessary to the passage of laws; he has the appointment — with the consent of the Senate, who vote to confirm or reject his nomination — of many important officers, who assist in the administration of the country — judges, custom-house collectors, postmasters, and others, to the number of thousands. On the other hand, in certain ways the Constitution limits his power. The king in an absolute monarchy could make laws or could even suspend laws. He could make peace or war of his own will. He could increase the taxes or levy a new tax, and use the money for his own purposes. As in the case of the father of a family, he had in his person both

the law-making and the executive power. Matters of justice could also be referred to the king. But our President cannot carry out any plan or public policy, however necessary, unless the majority of both houses of Congress agree with him. He may recommend, but Congress may pay no heed to his advice. In some respects he has less freedom of action than the president of a great railroad, and less trust is placed in him. Moreover, the President is liable to impeachment and removal from office, in case he violates the Constitution and laws. The founders of our Government were fearful lest the President might become a tyrant, but it has now become a question whether he has power enough for good executive work.

The governors in most States are also limited in their power, perhaps too strictly for the welfare of the people. The legislature is not, indeed, bound to do anything that the wisest governor may recommend. Thus, the office of governor, though one of honor, gives possibly less opportunity for public usefulness than does that of the mayor of a great city. Its greatest duties, except in time of emergency, when the governor might have to act as commander-in-chief of the militia, consist in appointing honest and capable men for certain offices, as, for example, in some States, the judges, and in vetoing bills that the legislature ought not to have passed. The mayors of cities likewise have sometimes been made mere figureheads. They could perhaps prevent or veto unwise plans, but they could not secure the passage of better plans. The question is whether we have not cut down the powers and responsibility of the executive more than would be well in the conduct of any other

important business. The executive certainly ought to be enabled to do the will of the people who elect him, and to whom he is directly responsible. The stock-holders of a railroad do not tie the hands of their superintendent.

The Cabinet. — Although it is wise to make one man responsible for the conduct of his office, he wants the advice of able men at the heads of the great departments of government. Our President accordingly has a Cabinet, consisting of the Secretary of State, who has charge of our relations with foreign governments; the Secretary of the Treasury; the Secretary of War; the Secretary of the Navy; the Secretary of the Interior, who has control of the business of government lands, the patent office, the pensions, and the Indian tribes; the Postmaster General; and the Attorney General, who is the legal adviser for the government; the Secretary of Agriculture, whose department is intended to serve the interests of the farmers, and who has the care of the Weather Bureau and the public roads; the Secretary of Commerce, who looks after the census, the lighthouses, the fisheries, and the coast survey; and the Secretary of Labor, who has the oversight of immigration and the naturalization of immigrants, and the interests of millions of people who work in mines, factories, and shops. These officers are appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, generally from the party which elected him. He consults with them as to the course of his administration, but he is not bound to take their advice. They hold office so long as the President desires.

Each member of the Cabinet is responsible to the

President for the conduct of his department; some of them have many thousands of clerks and other officers under them. Their responsibility is limited, however, and sometimes interfered with, and taken away by the action of Congress, who may refuse to do as the heads of departments recommend in their annual reports, or may fail to vote the money needed to carry on the work of any department. When, therefore, waste or loss occurs, or injustice is done (as, for instance, to the Indians), we cannot always be sure whether to blame the President and his secretary, or Congress, who may have neglected to do as the secretary wished. Would it not be well to give members of the Cabinet seats in Congress and the right to speak, whenever the business of their office is under consideration? This plan would bring the executive and legislative branches of the Government closer together.

In England the Ministry correspond somewhat to our Cabinet, but they must also be members of Parliament. On the contrary, our Cabinet have had no voice in Congress. The English ministers hold power as long as they are supported by a majority in the House of Commons. If the majority changes and disapproves of their conduct, the custom is that they shall resign and let another set of ministers undertake the administration? It may easily happen that the sovereign does not approve of the Prime Minister in power. Nevertheless, if a majority of the House of Commons supports him, he holds office in the name of the sovereign. How can a worthless Cabinet minister be removed under our government?

If the reader lives in a State — for example, in Massa-

chusetts — which has a governor's council, he will like to inquire how it is chosen, what it does, and especially of what use it is.

The division of powers. — Our forefathers suffered so much from the injustice of selfish and foolish men that they feared to trust too much power to one person. They tried to separate the power of the legislature or Congress from the work of the Executive, and to separate the work of the Courts from both the other branches of the Government. We do not need now to fear as we did when the government of the people was an untried experiment. What is good government but "team work"? It proceeds by a wholesome trust in the use of fair play. The people, or their representatives, and their executive want to understand and not to oppose each other. We want our Representatives, instead of acting apart from the Executive, to use the advice of the Executive head. Why not encourage the Executive to plan the public business on which the Legislature or Congress, after due discussion, may vote? The Legislatures undertake more business than they can do well. Thousands of bills have been passed by Congress in a single session. Yet few members knew whether such bills ought to pass. Suppose we lessened the work of the Legislature and of Congress, and added to our executive branch of the government commissions of trained men to whose judgment important subjects might be trusted with power to decide and to act. The Legislatures and Congress need expert assistance to draw the bills which they discuss, and to make them understood. We are constantly changing our Congressmen, and our Cabinet officers, but Congress and the Executive need

the help of able men who are not liable to be displaced at every election.

Moreover, we want our public business open and above board; we want to know whom to look to in case of inconsiderate action, so as to be able at once to correct mistakes and injustices committed by our public servants. We want especially, on the part of the men and women in the Government, an honest and enlightened good will to do the public work a little better, if possible, than they would do their own.

CHAPTER XVI

THE JUDICIAL BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT, OR THE COURTS AND THE LAWS

THE legislative branch of the government represents the will of the people, determines what ought to be done, makes laws, and appropriates money. The executive branch of the government, assisted by an army of officers, carries out the laws that Congress or the legislature passes, and lays out the moneys appropriated. But frequent questions arise as to what is just or legal. Laws sometimes appear to conflict with each other, or not to be in accord with the Constitution. The laws of one State may be different from the laws of another, so as sometimes to conflict or work injury. There are persons who, through ignorance or vice, break the laws or do injustice to others. The courts, or the judicial branch of the government, are intended to decide disputes and to pronounce what the law is. The court is like the umpire on the playground.

Various National Courts. — The highest court is the Supreme Court of the United States, consisting of nine judges who are appointed by the President for life. They have a beautiful room for their sessions in the Capitol at Washington. Questions come before this tribunal on appeal from lower courts, especially questions touching the principles of justice and the constitutionality of laws. If Massachusetts or Georgia were to pass a law which did injury to citizens of New York, the Su-



The United States Supreme Court Chamber

preme Court could declare such a law unconstitutional. For the Constitution of the United States guarantees the rights of all the people of the different States.

The country is divided into nine circuits, each of which has one or more judges. Below the circuit courts there are almost a hundred district courts, each with its judge, its marshal or sheriff, and its district attorney. Appeal may be made in certain cases from one of these courts to a higher court, to the Court of Appeals, or to the Supreme Court. If a ship rescued the cargo of another ship, and questions arose between the two owners, such a case would come before the United States Court. The same would be true if anyone were arrested for smuggling goods. If a question arose about a railroad which crossed several States, it might come before a United States Judge. So with suits about patents upon inventions and the copyright of books. If a question arose under any act or law of Congress, or between citizens of different States, in such cases the National Courts could be asked to decide.

There are also Territorial courts, which are supported by the General Government, until the Territories become States. The District of Columbia, as we have already seen, is under the laws made, not by its own people, but by Congress, which controls the District,—since it is the seat of Government,—provides its courts, and takes charge of its expenses. A Court of Claims at Washington considers bills and disputed accounts urged against the National Government; for differences sometimes arise between the Treasury officers of the United States and the men who have furnished supplies or undertaken contracts of work for the Government. There is much

“red tape” or form required in the business of the Government, so that mistakes and delays may occur to the injury of individuals.

The State courts. — Each State has its own judicial system, with various grades of courts. There are magistrates in every locality, before whom complaints or petty questions can be brought. There are police courts for cities or for populous districts. The superior courts are held from time to time at the courthouse or shire town of each county. Questions of law which cannot be satisfactorily settled in the lower courts may be referred to the supreme court of the State, which makes final decision, and if a law is not clear and just, interprets it, or sets it aside as contrary to the constitution.

The election of judges. — In some States the judges are elected by the people for a term of years. Some of the cities also elect their judges. If the people are careless or ignorant, this practice furnishes inferior judges. A judge who, in aiming to be fair, renders an unpopular decision, is liable to be turned out of office. Weak men may be tempted to use the office of judge to secure a reëlection rather than to administer justice. It ought, however, to be said, that judges have sometimes shown themselves thoroughly courageous under this system, and have risked their reëlection in making honest decisions.

The better plan. The appointment of judges. — In some States the judges are appointed by the chief authority of the State, either by the governor and his council, or by the legislature. The Judges of the United States are appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. The appointing power is thus made

responsible for the high character of each man. This is as if schoolboys were to trust their oldest fellows, or their captain, to name the umpire; lest the younger boys, instead of choosing the fairest umpire, might choose some one without experience. The Judges of the United States, and of certain States also, are appointed for life. They are, therefore, independent of fear or favor. However unpopular their decision may be, provided it is honest, they cannot be turned out of office. But there is a way provided by which, if a judge should ever do gross wrong, he can be impeached and removed by the legislature, or by Congress. For the judge is still responsible to the people, through their representatives.

Is it more democratic to elect judges than to have them appointed? It may be answered that it is good democracy to procure the best possible service for the people; and that the choice of excellent judges is a critical task; that if the people take good care in choosing their President or governor, and allow him to use his best judgment in the appointment of the judges and other expert officials, they do not violate the democratic principle.

Juvenile Courts.—Boys and girls often used to be treated very harshly by the courts. People did not know any better than to call them "bad," and "young criminals," and to punish them severely. The result was that they were made worse and not better. It has become the custom in many of our cities to have juvenile courts for children who fall into bad habits, who destroy property or steal, and become troublesome or injurious to their neighbors. The judge finds out about

a boy's home and the company he keeps, and looks for the good traits in his character; he learns what interests the boy— perhaps music or mechanics — and instead of punishing him, seeks to find a way to help him become a manly and useful boy. Kindly men and women assist the juvenile court and perhaps find a good home for the child and keep a friendly watch over him as long as he needs it. Some cities have also a careful physician in attendance upon the court, who studies difficult cases and perhaps discovers some physical or mental weakness which can be removed. In these juvenile courts we make use of the democratic method of treating the weaker members of society. We try to cure them.

How far the courts have power. — In early times, one power, the king, like a father, might make laws and execute them, and decide disputes which arose under them. But each branch of our Government is distinct from the other. Thus, while the Supreme Court of the United States cannot send a police force into a State to enforce the laws, the President, under certain conditions, might send a force. But it would be impossible for the President or the governor to carry out an unpopular decision of a court, if the Congress or the legislature were unwilling to make provision for the necessary expense. As boys, however, hold it dishonorable not to heed the umpire's decision, since indeed no play could go on successfully without justice, so men generally agree in requiring and expecting each other to obey the decrees of the courts. Thus in a free country fair-minded judges on the bench, and good citizens behind them, bring to bear the mightiest of forces, namely, public opinion, for the enforcement of the laws.

The machinery of the courts. — Besides judges, there are attorneys or lawyers employed in behalf of the people. The attorney-in-chief for each State is the legal adviser of the government. There are also attorneys or solicitors for counties or districts, whose duty it is to prosecute persons accused of breaking the laws. Each city, too, must have its attorney or solicitor, and perhaps, in a great city, a staff of lawyers and clerks who are constantly employed in defending the interests of the people. Thus, the individual citizen may claim damages for loss or injury from a defect in a road, and the lawyer for the city must present the side of the people in the courts.

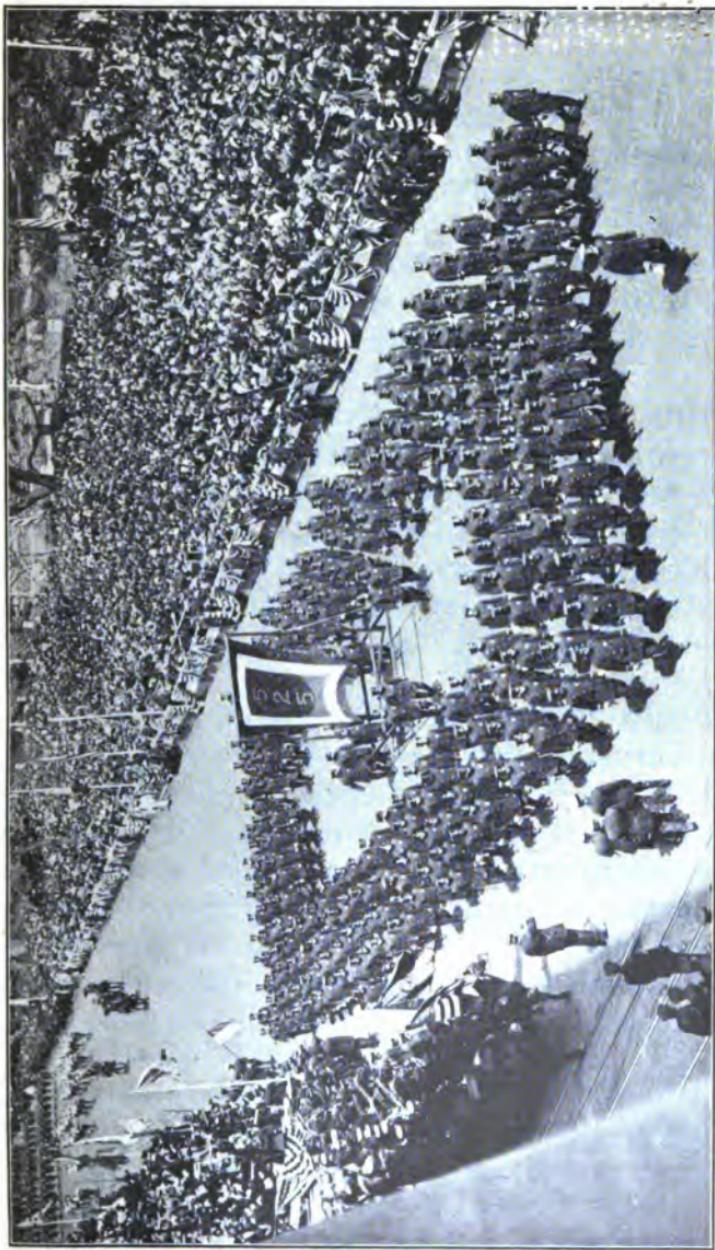
Besides the courts which try persons accused of crime, or decide questions of business, there are probate courts, with their judges, which take care of the wills which men leave for the disposal of their property; if necessary, they appoint guardians for orphan children. There must be some authority also, like the superior judge, who can decree a separation of husband and wife, or perhaps a divorce, in the case of a bad marriage. In such cases there may be suitable provision made, by the order of the court, for the children.

Sheriffs and constables also attend upon the courts, to serve their summons or to guard prisoners. Clerks and registers have the care of the records of the courts, and keep copies of the deeds and wills and other documents, without which there would be risk of frequent mistakes and disputes about property. Thus, if a man sells a piece of land, the sale is entered on record at the registry of deeds, and can at any time be consulted.

The police. — In large towns and cities it is necessary to have a body of police, sometimes numbering many

thousands, to watch the property and guard the safety of the citizens. We must never think of the police as if their chief business were to catch offenders and bring them into court. The police perform many kindly duties for the convenience of citizens and strangers; they seek to keep people informed so that they will not break the laws; the best policemen are good friends of the boys and girls, and they have no enemies. The police are paid by the city and are usually at the command of the mayor. But in some cities they are under officers or a commission appointed, not by the mayor, but by the governor. Is this perhaps because the people of some States distrust the government of their great cities?

The jury. — It is an old custom that when a matter of justice has to be decided, twelve men are called in to act as a jury, and, after hearing the case, to vote which side shall have the verdict. The early settlers brought this custom from England. No one can be prosecuted for crime without the privilege of a jury trial. The custom in most States is that the jury must be unanimous; that is, the twelve must agree, or else the accused cannot be convicted. The accused has the right to challenge, or decline to accept, a certain number of those offered as jurymen. The judge may also set aside such men as he believes may have already formed an opinion about the case. This sometimes serves to narrow the jury down to the most ignorant men, who do not read the newspapers; or, in some cases, to men who may be indulgent toward the offense; and since it is difficult always to bring conclusive evidence to compel twelve men to agree, it sometimes happens that the jury system lets the guilty escape. But is it not better that some



Platoon of Policemen in a Patriotic Parade

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guilty persons should escape, than that an innocent person should run the risk of being punished?

The grand jury.—A charge might carelessly be brought against a person who would be put to great trouble and loss by having to stand a trial. Before a case is fairly brought into court, therefore, the *grand jury*, which may be as large as twenty-three men, examines the charge, and, if good reason is shown, finds a bill or indictment against the accused person.

Every man, with certain exceptions, such as lawyers and doctors, is liable to be drawn by lot to serve as a juryman. The duty is often irksome and busy men like to avoid it. But what if all the busy men could get rid of it? If every one could shirk who did not enjoy public service, it would not only make the work harder for others, but would perhaps throw it into ignorant hands.

The delay of justice.—The old custom of requiring the jury to agree may easily delay justice and render it costly; for it may be necessary to try the same case repeatedly, before a jury will be found who can agree. If, then, some fault is found in the course of the trial, or in the decision, so that an appeal may be taken to a higher court, the question may be kept in the courts for years, not only to the expense of the parties to the lawsuit, but also at great cost to the public, who have to maintain the cumbrous machinery of justice, and to pay for judges, sheriffs, and jurymen. Some think that the laws should be changed so that, except in criminal cases, the vote of two thirds of a jury, or, as in the case of the Supreme Court, a majority, shall be enough to decide. It is a pity that the lawyers should not see

that their office is to help the court do justice, not to make justice slow and costly and perhaps to defeat it.

The referee. — It is not uncommon for both parties to a question or dispute to agree to leave the decision to capable referees. This is the method which good temper would generally dictate between honest and friendly men.

The judge and the jury. — In our system, except in what are known as the equity courts, and in petty cases before a police court, the judge does not himself decide, for example, upon the question of the guilt of an accused person, or a dispute about property; but the jury decide, after hearing the witnesses and the evidence upon both sides, with the arguments or statements of the lawyers. The judge presides and sees that the trial is according to law; he must show no partiality. He also gives the charge to the jury, or, in other words, instructs the jury as to the law and advises them how to consider the question. He may also, in certain cases, set the verdict of the jury aside and order a fresh trial. In the Supreme Court, however, where questions of *what the law is* are considered, the judges themselves decide.

Witnesses and the oath. — The custom is to require the witnesses, who bring evidence into the court, to take an oath or swear to the truth of what they testify. The breaking of the oath is called *perjury* and makes one liable to punishment. Important officers of government and clerks of corporations are also required to take the oath of office for the faithful performance of their duties. Those who favor the use of the oath hold that it adds the weight of religion to men's consciences, and urges them to be scrupulous and accurate.

On the other hand, it is said that no oath can make a promise or the statement of a witness more sacred than it is in itself. It is also objected that the oath is often administered in a slovenly and meaningless manner, and that a serious affirmation under the penalty of perjury is enough. The law already allows those who have conscientious objections to the oath to make such affirmation.

Habeas corpus. — In the days of tyrants, when often a great lord had power of life and death in his domain, it sometimes happened that a man was thrown into prison on some charge or suspicion and not brought to trial at once, but confined till he died. One of the ancient liberties, therefore, which the English people asserted, was that of a prompt trial in behalf of any person imprisoned on suspicion. A friend or neighbor could go in behalf of the prisoner before the proper court, and get what is called a writ of *habeas corpus* (Latin words, commanding the jailer to produce the body). Good cause must then be shown at once why the man ought to be confined, or else he is entitled to release. No king or enemy could, therefore, keep a man in jail without fair process of law.

Bail. — In most cases, unless the charges are very serious, the prisoner may procure *bail*, and go free till the trial comes off; that is, some person may agree to answer for his appearance when the trial is called, or to pay the forfeit of a sum of money, large or small, as the judge may think necessary. Certain magistrates or commissioners are empowered in every community to admit an arrested person to bail.

Exceptions. — There are times of war or great public danger when the privileges of bail and *habeas corpus* may

be suspended. It might happen that certain accused persons appeared to be very dangerous to the State, or that popular excitement would not for the time allow a fair trial. Thus the laws themselves (but not the principles of justice behind the laws) yield to the public safety, just as, in time of dangerous sickness, the ordinary rules of the house may be set aside.

The common law. — The early settlers brought with them the laws and systems of courts which they had been used to in England. These laws had grown partly out of men's sense of right, as the laws against violence and crime; also out of men's dealings in trade, and in holding property. As new questions arose in the courts, the judges' decisions became *precedents*, or examples, to help decide other similar cases. The *common law* is the accumulation of such decisions through many generations. It is possible that the old decision or custom was a mistake; some conscientious and independent court may then correct it, and make a new example to be followed by others.

The *common law* is like the rules of a game among schoolboys. The boys play according to custom, and their umpire tries to interpret the rules so as to do justice. In this way he will sometimes establish a new rule.

Statute laws. — It is also possible to make new laws or to set aside imperfect ones by the agreement of the people, or by their representatives. These are *statute laws*, such as the legislature or Congress makes.

The laws and the right. — Justice is often more than the laws. For the laws can fix only what the general sense of the people or their customs permit. The laws

of a nation may allow wrong, like slavery. We may keep within the laws and yet not do right. Nor do good laws profess to work perfect justice. We must be content if they come near our idea of justice. The laws and the courts are like machinery which, if mismanaged, will work harm. The courts frequently delay justice, because they are overworked. The laws must do justice for the sake of the whole, sometimes at the expense or loss of the individual. For the general rule, though itself good, may accidentally hurt the individual who falls in its way. The courts are also very costly, not only to the people who support them, but to those who use them, who must hire lawyers to defend their cause. Thus the working of the courts often discourages men from resorting to them, and tends to urge parties to settle their differences by friendly arbitration.

Some think that the courts ought to be free for all, poor or rich, in which case the lawyers, like the judges and jurors, would be paid from the public treasury. Is there any objection to this?

The tyranny of law. — In the old colony of Massachusetts Bay, and in Connecticut, the majority of the people made laws compelling every one to go to church; but even if it was good for all to go to church, it was wrong for the majority to use such laws to compel the minority. It is tyranny for one man to insist arbitrarily that others do what he says; so it may be tyranny for many men to force others, by means of the laws, to obey their will.

The laws are merely instruments for the protection of the people. Their proper use, therefore, like the rules of a club, depends upon the common consent. They

fail to be useful as soon as any considerable number of citizens deem them unfair or oppressive, or especially, against their conscience. In this case, the laws may tempt to disorder, violence, and possibly to rebellion. Besides, a majority of men may for a time be mistaken about right, as a majority has often been mistaken about religion. The laws, therefore, which are made for all, ought not merely to enforce the opinions of one party, but to express the common agreement of intelligent and decent citizens. Whatever is right beyond the laws will thus, we may hope, come into vogue by persuasion, example, and enlightened public opinion, better than when forced through legislation.

Freedom of speech and the press. — The constitutions of our States generally secure to the people freedom to speak or publish whatever they think. They may speak and write against the Government, and try to change it. They may publish foolish gossip about the President and other officers. They may write or speak so as to shock the prejudices of their fellow-citizens. This liberty rests upon our trust in the people and in the soundness of our Government. A timid or despotic government, like that of a Czar or Sultan, does not permit freedom of discussion. Our laws only slightly restrict it. They forbid the publication of malicious or libelous matter designed to hurt a person's business or character. They also forbid low and immoral publications. On the whole, however, we think it safer to allow men to speak their minds than to muzzle them; for errors are never so effectively answered as when they are fairly brought to the light.

CHAPTER XVII

THE TREASURY AND THE TAXES

The public expenses. — The sum of money required for all the expenses of the town, city, state, and national governments in the United States amounts to billions of dollars a year. For the National Government alone the usual expense must be equal to twenty dollars apiece for every man, woman, and child in the country. In the great cities, of course, the average is greater, amounting in some cases to forty dollars a year for each inhabitant. If all this money were wisely expended, it would come back to the people in various kinds of service, so that they would be happier and richer for it. For example, the whole country is richer and not poorer on account of the expense for lighthouses and for the city fire departments. The amount needed for public expenses is collected in the form of taxes.

The taxes. — In every town or city there is a collector of taxes and a treasurer. There are also assessors, that is, officers who determine what property there is in the town, and what amount, therefore, each person ought to pay according to law. Each town must raise money enough for its own expenses and also for its share of the expenses of the county and of the State government. Its share is determined by the proportion of the taxable property in it, such as land, houses, mills, railroads, compared with the whole amount in the county or the State. So the share which each person pays depends

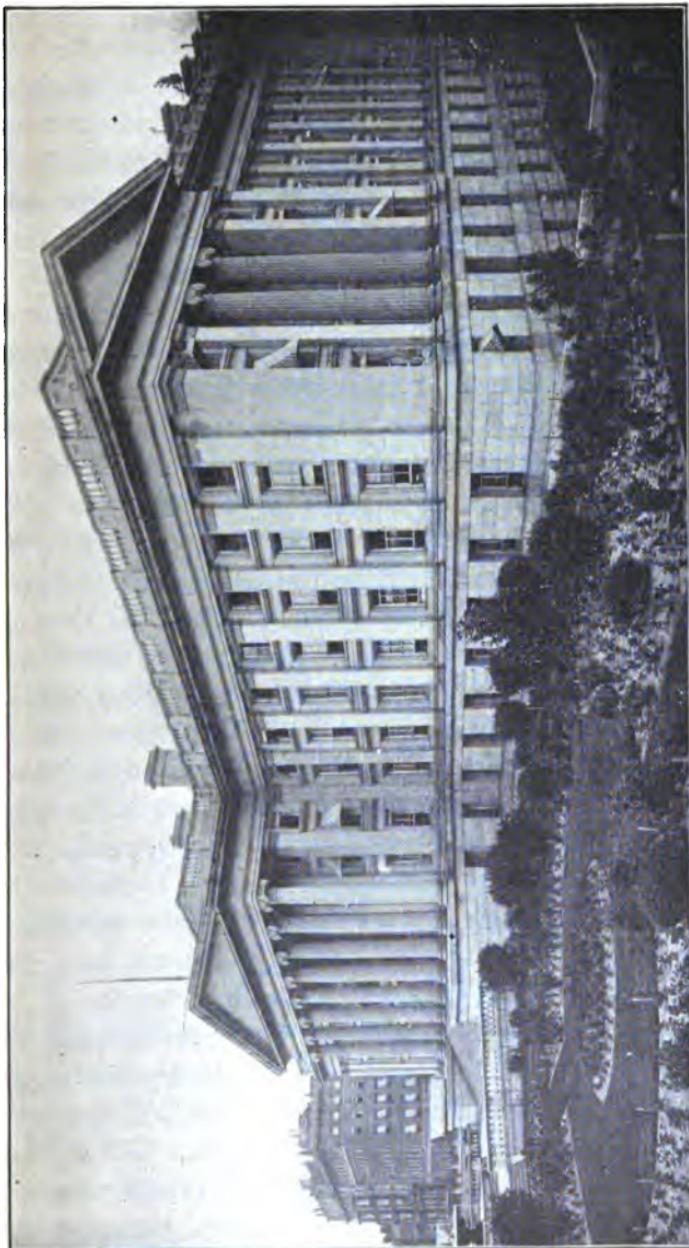
upon the amount of taxable property which he or she is supposed to have.

County treasurers take charge of the money which each county requires for its courts and other purposes. The county commissioners have authority to lay out the money of the county, according to law.

The State treasurer, with his clerks, keeps account of the moneys received from all the towns and cities (or counties) of the State. A board of officers or State assessors may determine the share that each county or town ought to pay for the common good.

Direct taxes: the income tax. — When a tax bill is brought directly to each person, or to each business firm or company, it is called a direct tax. It is levied sometimes upon the value of the actual property that one possesses, or again upon the amount of one's income or salary. The *income tax* is generally levied only upon those citizens who have wages or salary or other income above a certain annual sum, and it may be added to other kinds of taxes. It is customary to exempt the incomes of families who have less than a thousand dollars a year. It may be adjusted so that large incomes must pay a higher rate than moderate ones. This is called a progressive tax. It may begin at one or two per cent and go up to fifty and more. The income tax is fair, if every one can be trusted to report his income truthfully to the assessors.

The inheritance tax. — Another kind of tax is generally imposed upon legacies and inheritances. The small inheritances, such as are actually needed for widows and orphans are exempt from this tax. The inheritance tax like the income tax can be made progressive, so that



The United States Treasury Building

TO WILLE
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the estate of a millionaire shall pay a higher rate than a moderate fortune. This is a very fair tax, inasmuch as no property could securely be handed down from a deceased father or other relative to his heirs, except for the protection and assistance of the public institutions and by the consent of the people.

Double taxation. — Besides the visible property which a man owns, such as houses and land (real estate), and movable articles, such as furniture, etc., he may have various certificates of the stock of corporations, or bonds or notes. A great amount of wealth is held in this form. It stands for the fact, as we shall see more fully later, that the holder owns a share of property which some other person or company manages. If it is a railway bond or stock, it means that the holder really owns some part of the property of the railway company. It may be a note or mortgage upon a farm, in which case the holder really owns a share of the farm which the borrower works. Whatever the property is, it ought to be taxed upon its full value. If, then, the man who holds the note or the certificate of stock is taxed also upon this, the property pays two taxes. But the man who owns the whole of a piece of property — a mill or a block of buildings — has only to pay one tax upon it. Surely the Government ought to treat all men alike.

The property owned in shares goes under the name of personal property. Since the certificates, bonds, or notes are private papers, locked up out of sight, the assessors cannot determine how much property one has in this form, unless each citizen makes a correct report. Heavy fines and penalties are imposed in case the taxpayer makes a false report. He not only cheats

the Government, but also throws an extra burden upon those who make a truthful report, who thus are obliged to pay more than their share. The laws about taxing personal property vary in the different States. It has been found that such taxes are hard to collect, and that men are tempted to be negligent and dishonorable about bearing their public burdens.

How the taxes are shifted. — The man who pays a tax to the collector does not always bear the tax himself. Perhaps he is a merchant and he adds the tax, and a little more to pay for his trouble, to the price of his goods. The manufacturer adds his tax to the cloth that he sells. The landlord puts the tax into the rent of the house he lets. The farmer who borrows money pays higher interest on account of any tax upon the mortgage of his land. Thus the tax is shifted. Perhaps no one spends a dollar without paying a tax that some one else has advanced to the tax collector.

The single or land tax. — In some countries the government or the king has claimed to own all the land. The rent of the land was thus the government tax. In Russia, and in many half-civilized countries, the commune, or village, or tribe, own land in common. This was, perhaps, the most ancient form of possession. We can imagine that when the first settlers came to America, the royal government might likewise have kept the ownership of the land, and rented it to the settlers. When the government was changed and vested in the people, the Nation would then have owned all the land; and every individual would have rented of the Nation what he needed to use. The taxes would thus have taken the form of rent. There are those who think that

this way of raising the taxes would be easier and fairer than our present methods; they advocate a tax on land, and nothing else, precisely as if the Nation owned and rented the land. No one would then hold land idle, or buy farms and house lots, merely to make money by selling them again. How can anyone suppose that he has a right to appropriate lands or mines or the water supply, and to leave them to his heirs forever, as if he had created them by his labor or skill, while other men have no share in them?

The unearned increment. — The fact is that a small part of the people, especially in the cities, enjoy, like the noblemen abroad, an income from lands and mineral wealth and the "unearned increment," amounting to billions of dollars. This unearned increment is the difference between the value of the wild land when man first began to settle upon it and the value now. It arises from the efforts and labor and prosperity of all the people, and not from what its owners have done to make it useful. Of course, the actual improvements upon the land which men have brought about are in a different class from the unearned increment. Meanwhile, every one who rents a house or store or shop helps to pay a sort of tax to the landlord upon a value which has been created, not by the landlord, but by the whole community.

Questions of justice. — Suppose, now, that the Government henceforth took all the rent: would not the present owners of the land suffer the same loss as if their property had been taken away from them? The Nation bearing the taxes is like a creature carrying a burden. You wish to fix the burden so equally as to make the

least strain. If, then, you ever change the position of the burden, must you not be careful not to bruise and injure the new set of muscles?

Suppose, again, that it would be good for all of us and for our children after us to acquire for the people the ownership or the control of the land; or, suppose the single or land tax promised to be the fairest form of getting revenue for the Government: what ought good citizens, who now hold great properties in land, to be willing to do? They ought not to wish to stand in the way of removing a permanent injustice from the whole people. On the other hand, we ought not to make a big change in the holding of property and to bring hardship on innocent fellow citizens without the wisest consideration and every effort to provide against incidental cases of injustice. What if a man had just put all his property into city land? Might it not be necessary to adjust the change so as to reach its results gradually, after a term of perhaps ten or more years?

The duties of assessors. — It is impossible to tell exactly what different pieces of property in a town are worth. One man might set the value too high, and another too low. Several men, therefore, constitute the Board of Assessors, so that their different judgments shall correct each other. If, then, the assessors endeavor, as the law requires, to discover the true value of every one's property, the taxes fall pretty fairly on every one, just as the prices of goods fall on all alike, although it is always harder for some to pay than for others. If, however, as often happens, the assessors fail to tax various pieces of property for their true value, this brings an unjust burden on every other property. Thus, in many cities

men have been permitted by the assessors to hold large or valuable lands at a lower rate than that fixed upon the property of small holders. The few have thus been enabled to grow rich by the rise of the land value (the unearned increment) at the expense of the many. So, too, throughout the State, if every board of assessors do their duty, and tell the true value of the property in each town, no town will have to pay more than its share for the expenses of the State. If, however, the assessors of any town deliberately tax their own townspeople for only one half of the true value of their property, while more faithful assessors in another town tax the true value of their property, the latter town is made to bear an unfair proportion of the public burden. This is our penalty if we fail to insist upon intelligent and honest assessors. Would it not be fine if we were civilized enough to be trusted to assess ourselves?

The poll tax. — There is in many States a small and ancient tax, perhaps two dollars a year, which is levied upon all men twenty years old and over, even though they may have no property whatever. This might be called the voter's tax. Since the necessity of paying this tax sometimes prevents poor citizens from voting, or tempts candidates for office to pay it in behalf of their supporters; and since it is rather expensive in its collection, many think the poll tax unwise. On the other hand, ought not every citizen who votes to be willing to pay something directly into the public treasury?

Licenses, fees, etc. — There are certain occupations, for example, that of a peddler or a pawnbroker, for which it is well that the persons enjoying them shall be registered and take out a license. They should therefore

pay some fee to cover the expense of the registration office. Owners of dogs, also, are obliged to pay a fee. There are certain public privileges which may fairly demand a payment in return to the public. Thus, if a street railway enjoys the use of the public highways, it is just that it should pay for its franchise, that is, its right to use the streets. Since, however, the fares have to be sufficient to enable the company to pay their taxes, the amounts thus raised are apt to come out of the pockets of the people, and are a kind of indirect tax. No tax can be levied or increased without making itself felt somewhere in the expenses of the people.

Liquor licenses. — In many States the sale of intoxicating drinks requires a license, and since a large amount of crime and accident and public loss comes through the use of liquor, a fee — in some cities as high as a thousand dollars or more — is required for the purchase of the license. The liquor dealer, of course, pays the tax as he pays his rent, but he expects to get his money back from the people who buy of him. Of course, whenever a license is granted for any kind of business, the people are understood to authorize it as rightful. If the business is injurious, they then become responsible for it. Does any community reap a benefit from licensing the liquor traffic?

The taxes for the Nation. — The taxes for the National Government are separate from all others. A large sum is raised by a progressive income tax, also by a tax upon the profits of corporations. The great war drove the nations engaged in it to the use of new and searching income taxes. The Nation also raises considerable money by taxes upon articles which are imported from foreign

countries. In every seaport there is a custom-house with a collector and other officers to levy these *duties*. The merchants who sell the goods then make the price high enough to repay them for the cost and trouble of the tax. Whoever uses the goods helps pay the tax according to the amount which he uses. If, for example, the duty on sugar is a cent a pound, and a man's family uses one hundred pounds in a year, he pays a dollar as his sugar tax.

It is a pity that we should not know exactly what we pay in taxes. People become careless about their government when the taxes are concealed from sight. There is a special objection to the tariff or custom-house tax. The nations of the world cannot know each other too well; they need to visit and exchange their products and so to learn to respect one another. Now, tariffs and custom-houses are barriers between them and keep them apart.

The internal revenue. — Another part of the revenue of the government comes from a tax upon various articles produced or manufactured in this country, such as tobacco, spirits, and patent medicines. This is called the internal revenue. The producer or manufacturer first pays this tax and puts a higher price upon the article when he sells it. Thus the people pay the indirect tax in the end, since each man who buys a pound of tobacco pays a tax as a part of the price. The manufacturer or producer only collects the tax for the Government and assesses it when he sells his tobacco.

The Government also has extensive lands, sometimes with oil or minerals in them, from which, if they are sold or leased, an income is derived. In some countries,

as in Germany, the government derives a revenue from the mines and the timber in the forests. The money from these sources, however, comes in the end from the labor of the people, who have to pay for the use of the land; and to get out the ores and coal, and cut the timber. Where, however, the government (that is, all of us) owns these lands, the rent money for their use goes back for the general welfare or to lower our taxes; whereas, if landlords get the rent, the money goes into the pockets of a few, and we have to pay our taxes besides.

In the case of the post office, or when, as in some European countries, the government manages the telegraph or railroads, the people evidently pay in postage, or fares, or freight, for what they use or enjoy. So we pay water rates when the city provides water, or gas bills, if the city manufactures the gas. All the expenses of running the government ought to go likewise in some way towards procuring benefit, health, safety, or convenience.

The source of all taxes. — The cost of all the normal work of the government, national and local, throughout the country, must be enough to pay for the constant labor of not less than two million men and women. The total produce of the Nation may be likened to a vast pyramid of wealth which the labor and the skill of the people have brought together. The more honest and effective our various governments are, the greater will this pyramid be. The living of the millions of men and women who do the work for the government, that is, for all the people, comes out of the common product. And while the average amount of our taxes seems at first to be deducted from the share of each inhabitant, the

share left to each ought to be greater on account of the benefits that government secures; just as the amount that a man spends for food and tools, instead of making him poorer, enables him to earn more money.

Exemptions from taxes. — The taxes ought to be shared by all and no one should wish to be let off from paying his share. But the citizens generally agree to free or exempt from taxation certain kinds of property — colleges, hospitals, or churches — which are not for private gain. Such kinds of property, like the public parks and libraries, are thought to be for the interest of the whole people and really to add to the public wealth. But no generation has a right to make exemptions, or to give privileges in favor of a part of the people, which prove to be a load upon future generations. Some persons indeed think that there ought to be no exemptions from taxation allowed to any institutions which are not under the charge of representatives of the people.

The public faith. — We hold every man to his promises, and especially to the honest payment of his debts. Even when he has been foolish in incurring debt, or has wasted his money, we think it unfair that he should make others lose on his account. How ought it to be with the promises or the debts of a city or nation? For a nation lives through hundreds of years. It may happen that a single generation makes difficult promises or incurs a great debt, as England did in the war with Napoleon. Perhaps the debt may have been foolish, and through the fault of bad government, as with some of our States after the Civil War. In this case, is it just that the people of a new generation should be taxed to keep promises which others had wrongfully made? The fact

is that the people of our generation have inherited the institutions and liberties and public property of all the generations since the Nation was founded. Ought we not, then, willingly to make good the National obligations and the debts? Suppose one inherited his grandfather's estate; is it not his business to pay the debts that his grandfather left? Moreover, what is right proves in the long run to be wise also. For a State that always keeps its promises and pays its debts has credit, or, in other words, is trusted, and can easily borrow money if necessity arises, as an honest merchant can, at a very low rate of interest; whereas a State which does not keep its promises loses its credit, and its citizens get a dishonest name.

On the other hand, we never praise a parent who leaves a great load of debt for his children to pay. So we who now live in the United States should not be willing to incur debts for our children to pay. Is it not always fairer and better to pay as we go, and at least to contrive to pay all our debts? Moreover, what shall we say if oppressive governments have incurred vast debts for the benefit of a few or for war, so that these nations stagger under a ruinous load? May they not fairly make some arrangement with their creditors to relieve them of the poverty and distress that result from wicked debts, for which no one ought to have advanced the money?

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

THE theory of our government is that, since the citizens are the rulers, every young person ought at least to be well enough educated to make an intelligent citizen, or, in other words, to be able, when summoned to vote, to know what he votes for. What if he cannot read? In this case he could never be sure that he used the right ballot. And unless he can inform himself upon the questions at issue, such as the tariff, free trade, etc., he cannot be expected to decide understandingly to which party he wishes to belong. Besides, the better educated the people are, the more prosperous the whole Nation becomes. Good schools are an excellent investment of our money.

The common wealth. — There is another reason why we desire the education of all children. A large part of the common wealth consists in thoughts, ideas, inventions, and the arts, the discoveries of science, and the control over the forces of nature. This common wealth of knowledge, to which learning is the key, is worth more to the Nation than all the goods and buildings in the land. It is through the wealth in thoughts and ideas that the other kinds of wealth are created and men learn the secrets of happiness. This larger and more precious part of the resources of the Nation ought to be within the reach of the poor as well as the rich. The child who has knowledge without money will thus be better off than one who has money without knowledge.

Free schools. — Schools are, therefore, provided by law, and in most States children are required to attend school for a certain term in each year, up to perhaps the age of fourteen years. They are also encouraged to continue at school longer, and high and normal schools are provided for them. These higher schools are expected to furnish teachers for the common schools, as well as to educate those who shall be leaders of public opinion and from whom we may obtain suitable officers for our government. The education is not only in books. Many of the States also encourage manual training, or the education of the hand and eye, so that boys and girls shall be skilled to take up trades and to understand the varied industries which the Nation carries on. Most States support agricultural colleges, where the best methods of farming are taught. Grants of valuable public lands have been made by Congress to the States for the endowment of these colleges.

The higher education. — In many States, in addition to high schools in all the larger places, education in the higher branches, including law and medicine, is provided by a state university. The older States used to encourage education by special grants of land or money to private academies or colleges, for instance, to Harvard College. The National Government also used to make appropriations to schools among the Indians, under the care of private individuals or societies. But such schools are commonly sectarian; and since it is unjust to help Methodist schools, for instance, and not to help Catholic schools equally, and since it is often hard to judge fairly between the claims of rival institutions, it is now generally thought best to grant public money

only to public schools, and not to schools from which good teachers might be excluded because they did not belong to the denomination of the trustees of the school. Is it ever fair to exclude a teacher from the public schools because he does not have the religious or political opinions of the majority of the school committee, or of the voters?

What the public schools should not teach. — It is unfair for any teacher employed at the common expense to urge his religious opinions, or indeed any of his private opinions, upon the children of parents who may think differently; it would not be fair for a teacher supported by all the people to try to persuade the children of Democrats to become Republicans. In this case the public schools would become private, or sectarian, or partisan. There are some subjects, therefore, on which men differ widely, which are not well fitted for use in the public schools. But it is always right, upon such subjects as the schools consider, to teach the facts, since every right-minded person must wish to know the truth, and no one need fear that truth will do harm.

The teacher's opinions. — We do not want teachers to take advantage of their position to urge their opinions upon pupils. But we do want teachers to have ideas and opinions. In other words, we desire our teachers to be thoughtful and earnest. We desire our teachers to have principles. We want them not to be afraid in the proper place to say what they think. The State does not take away the teachers' rights to act, speak, write, and vote as citizens. Moreover, there are some great common ideas touching both politics and religion of which a teacher can talk to pupils in school. He can talk

about the nature of freedom, and of the respect we all owe to every race of men. He can talk about duty and obedience to the voice of conscience, and the doctrine of good will, which is at the heart of all religion. Questions daily come up in a schoolroom which require high-minded, friendly, and devoted teachers to settle rightly.

The teaching force. — Besides thousands of regular paid teachers, there are other officers whose business it is to look after the schools. There is a National Bureau of Education, which collects the facts about education throughout the country. The State also has its board of education appointed by the governor. Cities and towns or countries or groups of towns have their superintendents or supervisors of education, who are appointed to aid the teachers and inform them of the best methods. Committees, generally unpaid, and sometimes school agents, are elected in each locality to represent the people in the care of the schools, to appoint teachers, and to advise about the needful expenditures. The schools are also open for the public to visit. If they fail to serve their purpose, it must therefore be through the fault or neglect of the people themselves.

Women in control of the schools. — There are few States so backward as to deny to the women — the mothers and sisters of the pupils — the right to share in the election of the school committees. They are also usually eligible for the various boards of education. This is not only because the majority of teachers are women, but because it is expected that women generally, and mothers especially, will take a deep and intelligent interest in education.



High School and Stadium, Tacoma, Washington

30 MINUTE
AIRCRAFT

The cost of the schools. — More than half a billion dollars a year is expended for the common schools of the United States. They use property in land, buildings, and furnishings of the value of about a billion and a half, or nearly as much as the property of a great city like Boston. The teachers, about six hundred thousand in number, four out of five of whom are women, if assembled together would make a big city. In 1915 there were twenty-three million children and youths enrolled in the schools and colleges of the United States. See how much the people care for the education of their children, and how much their education costs!

The public schoolhouses are generally built and furnished by the towns or districts, but the State treasury often assists poorer towns to pay the teachers' salaries. The interest in education and the system pursued vary greatly in different States. Thus in a State with a large population of poor people, and perhaps as many colored children as white, the money appropriated may fall below ten dollars a year to each child in attendance. On the other hand, there are States which appropriate as much as fifty, sixty, or seventy dollars to each child in school. It would be interesting to find out how large a share of the local taxes where readers of this book live, goes for the support of the schools. It may be as high as a fourth, or even nearer a third, of all the city tax.

The interest of the people in their schools is also shown by the salaries given to the teachers. Salaries vary in different States from less than forty dollars a month in some to more than one hundred dollars in others. This means that many teachers do not get

three hundred dollars a year. Is this fair treatment for the teachers? And is it good citizenship to take no better care of the men and women in whose hands we trust the greatest of all kinds of human business, namely, the education of the people?

Public and private schools. — There are many schools, academies, and colleges supported by individuals, who pay for the tuition of their children; or supported by an endowment fund, under the care of trustees. Sometimes the private school is established by some church or religious denomination. Its teaching may or may not be as thorough as in public schools of the same grade. While it may be well to encourage experiments in education in private schools, yet since we must act and vote together in a republic, it seems desirable that during some part of the course of instruction all shall be educated together. How can citizens become acquainted with each other and respectful of one another's opinions and religion, and able to work together for their common interests, if the wealthier and the poorer have never met each other in school? The public schools ought to be made so good that no one will need to go elsewhere to get a better education.

The parents who pay for tuition in private schools are required also to pay their full share of the taxes for the support of the free schools. Some think that, if they provide schools for their own children, they ought not to have to pay for the public schools which they do not use. Is it not, however, for the good of all the people to provide good schools, free to every one, rather than to run the risk that any of the children may be neglected and grow up in ignorance? It is for the general good to

have courts and police, although some persons never use the courts and some keep private watchmen. So, on the whole, the community is better off for providing a generous system of free schools and securing the attendance of as many children as possible, and especially of children who would not be cared for except in this way.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND THE OFFICES

BESIDES the teachers, and without the army and navy, the administration of the country requires an immense force of persons, men and women, who are employed in the various departments of the public service as postmasters, clerks, accountants, inspectors, and keepers of supplies of every sort. These persons constitute what is called the Civil Service. There is also a similar civil service in every State. In the cities and towns there is likewise a list of officials — the police or constables, the fire department, the men who care for the streets and the water supply, and many others. The public health and safety depend upon the honesty and faithfulness of the persons who make up the civil service. Suppose no one took any pains to select suitable men and women for these offices, and as soon as they had learned their business we turned them out and put in new and inexperienced people. High school pupils would hardly be so foolish as the American people have been in carrying on their public work. This negligence has cost hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of lives. We are finding out everywhere that no business goes on well unless some capable person is held responsible for the care of it. Of course, the head of any department, who is responsible for its conduct, should be able to displace an inefficient subordinate, but a good officer ought to keep his place as long as he remains faithful. Suppose that a President or mayor is able to

turn out good officers, or to use the offices for rewarding his personal or political friends, or to pay them for helping him to get his office. It is as if the captain of a great steamer were to turn out good engineers and firemen for the sake of giving berths to inexperienced relatives of his own!

A bad civil service.—During the early administrations under Washington and his successors, removals from office were rare. The founders of our republic regarded the Government as a public trust. But after a while, and especially in the Presidency of Jackson, the custom came in of using the offices to reward the political friends of the party in power. This is *patronage*. Meanwhile, the number of offices grew, till the fortune and living of many thousands of people depended upon winning or losing a Presidential election. Each great party came to believe that, though the officers must be paid by all the people, yet the places and the pay belonged only to themselves. No faithful officer was sure of holding his place if the other party came into power; nor did useful service give promise of promotion. Moreover, it became the custom to assess officeholders, and even letter carriers and clerks, who are really the servants of all the people, to pay for the election expenses of their party. Thus the party in power sought to keep power in order to hold the patronage and the offices, rather than to do first-rate service in behalf of the Nation.

The office seekers.—The Representatives and Senators also came to feel that the offices in their State or district belonged to them to give away to their friends. Thus, whenever the administration of Government was changed

or a new President was elected, old and experienced officials were turned out in order that the party in power might have the offices and the salaries for their own men, who often had no experience. The time of the heads of Government was largely occupied in filling vacancies from a horde of hungry and often incapable office seekers. A class of dangerous men arose on each side, who merely plotted and struggled, either to keep the offices, or when the other party had captured them for a time, to recover their spoils. This involved great waste to the Nation, extravagant expenditure, abuse of trust funds, as, for example, the funds held for the Indian tribes, and an unhealthy and feverish excitement over the elections.

These abuses were not only in the conduct of the National Government, but they were discovered also in every State and city. Nowhere is the need of wisdom, fidelity, and experience greater than in the management of the costly business of a city. And nowhere did patronage cause more frequent and injurious demoralization of public employees and workmen.

Civil service reform. — A reform generally commends itself to the people as fast as they understand it. For they do not want to be taxed uselessly or to fail of good service. They desire justice, and sooner or later become very weary of those who play tricks and cheat them. When, therefore, a few patriotic men are willing to try together to carry out any needed reform, they can usually depend upon persuading the people to support them. Especially is this the case when men of opposite parties will agree to let their party differences drop, in order to secure some public good.

So in the case of civil service reform. The best men of both parties accordingly agreed that rules ought to be made, such as had been necessary in other great countries, to give the civil service permanence, and to fill vacancies in it by promotion and by fair examinations. Few men would venture to vote against a plan so just. Suitable rules have therefore been made, and commissioners to enforce them have been appointed in some of the States, as well as for the National Government, with the intent that the civil service may belong to the people, and not to the managers of the party which happens to hold the reins of power. Whereas once it often happened that an official could be nominated by an irresponsible saloon-keeper, the new rules require candidates for a place, whether of a clerk, inspector, policeman, or laborer, to pass a suitable examination conducted under the care of the commissioner. No one can be appointed who does not get a reasonably high grade; neither can he be removed without cause.

What remains to be done.—Many offices in the country are still subject to the old abuses. A good Indian agent may still be turned out to give place to an unfit or dangerous man, who may inflict cruel injustice upon a whole tribe. Thousands of postmasters are subject to removal every four years. The time of the President and the Representatives in Congress is wasted by office seekers. Moreover, there are always a few greedy people who are watching for a chance to change the laws in their own favor, and to break down the rules which protect the civil service. Sometimes they make out a plausible pretext for such injurious changes. Thus, some citizens hold that a returned soldier ought to be

given opportunity to fill an office in preference to anyone else. But ought he to be preferred when he is not fit for the place, or when he takes the place of a better trained man? Would you wish to turn out good locomotive engineers on a railroad and put incompetent men upon the engines, merely because they had been soldiers? Would patriotic soldiers ask for preference which they do not deserve? We have to be on guard not only to procure wise laws, but to forbid their being undermined in the name of patriotism.

When the general Government extends civil service rules to all the offices, and when all the States establish civil service laws for their cities, a great source of waste and injustice will be removed.

The consular and diplomatic service. — This is the branch of the civil service which concerns our relations with foreign nations. It is the custom of every civilized nation to maintain an agent, called an Ambassador, or Minister, or Consul-General, at the capital of every friendly nation. This agent looks out for the interests of his Government, has correspondence with the office of the Secretary of State in Washington, and represents the rights of his fellow-citizens abroad. Not until 1893 was it the custom of our republic to appoint ambassadors, the ministers of the highest rank. The foreign governments to whom we send officers of this rank send ambassadors to us.

There is, also, a consul or agent at most of the great ports or centers of trade, where commerce brings men of many nations together. For instance, if an American citizen were to be unjustly arrested in Liverpool, he would depend upon his consul for help; or, the consul

would see that shipwrecked American sailors were cared for. The foreign ministers, consuls, and their various clerks make up the diplomatic service. This service needs men of experience, conversant with the laws and customs of the foreign nation, and able to speak its language. Such men are generally chosen by the governments of foreign countries, who often maintain a permanent force of trained men to manage this business. Our own Government, however, for want of a sound civil service, has often suffered at the hands of incapable persons, ignorant of the language of the country to which they have been sent, who have owed their appointments in the consular service to partisan work in helping to get votes for some Congressman. Why not make it an object for able young men to prepare themselves for public service abroad?

Rotation in office.—There are two ideas in vogue about office. One idea is that it is a private perquisite or privilege, which ought to "go around" and be shared by as many persons as possible. Every boy in the class, for example, ought, if possible, to have a chance as the captain or president of the class. A new set of men should be made selectmen every year. So, the Representative or Senator should not hold more than one term, or, at most, not more than two terms. Even a judge should give place to another man. In short, the offices should be used for the pleasure or profit of as many individual citizens as possible. This is rotation in office. We have already seen the harm that it may do to the civil service. The winning of the offices becomes like a game of grab. The ancient Greek method of choosing officers by lot would be fairer and more decent than this.

The other and sound idea of office is to secure the best possible service of the people. The purpose of the office is that the public business may be done most economically and efficiently. With this idea the people could not afford, if they had found a faithful officer, to let him go. If the present board of selectmen or the school committee worked well, they would prefer to keep them. If their Senator had learned how to conduct the public business, they would return him to Washington, instead of sending an inexperienced man. If the mayor were capable and disinterested, they would reelect him as long as he would serve them. This is what men do who wish their mill or their bank to be a success. They keep a good officer as long as he does well. But they dismiss an inefficient man, and find one whom they can trust.

Candidates and their place of residence. — There are two ideas in vogue about the candidate for an office. One idea is that he ought to be a resident in the town or city or district that chooses him for office. Why so? If you were about to erect a town hall, would you insist upon choosing your architect from your fellow townsmen? Is the office for the sake of the individual? With this queer idea men think that their Representative to Congress must reside in the district which elects him, though an abler man, who could serve the district better, could be found in another part of the State. Often a weak man is chosen because he is a resident of the district, who must shortly give way to another weak man living at the other end of the district!

The opposite idea is that, since the office is not for the man, but for the people, the best and strongest man should be secured. The people will choose their fellow

citizen as architect, if he is a good architect. But they want the best possible town hall, and they will, therefore, send to New York or Chicago for an architect, provided they can thus have a better building. So the people will choose a mayor from their own ward, if he will make the best mayor; but if the other ward will give them a more capable man, they will choose him in preference. Or, if they can find a disinterested and patriotic man from another part of the State to represent them in Washington, they will take care to get him. The law already allows some liberty of choice on this point, although the politicians have established the contrary custom. For there is no one whom the small partisan managers dread more than a fearless public servant who aims only to serve the people.

Salaries and pensions. — The democratic idea favors moderate salaries for officials. The President has \$75,000 and the use of the White House. This is small in comparison with the cost of keeping a King. The salary of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is \$15,000. Many lawyers make much larger incomes. The mayors of great cities have salaries, for example, \$10,000 in Boston, far less than the heads of businesses get in the same cities. There will never be a time when men of the highest ability will not prefer to do the honorable service of the people rather than merely to "make money" for themselves. Besides their salaries, many officials — judges, teachers, firemen and others — receive pensions on retirement from service on account of disability or old age.

CHAPTER XX

VOTING

Viva voce. — The simplest and quickest form of voting, used sometimes in the schoolroom, is by the voice, or *viva voce*; those in favor of a measure say *Aye* or *Yes*, and those opposed say *Nay* or *No*. But it sometimes happens in this case that the smaller number seem to make more noise than the others, or the chairman may be charged with prejudice or unfairness in declaring the vote in favor of his own side.

The show of hands. — Another simple and more accurate mode of voting is to ask each side, the *ayes* and the *noes* in turn, to raise their right hands till they can be counted by the clerk or secretary; or, if the numbers are large, by tellers; or, since hands are not always seen, and a dishonest person might raise both hands, each side may be asked to rise and stand till it is counted. If a vote of the voice is doubted by anyone, it is usual to ask for the counting of the votes. Sometimes, as in Congress, at the wish of a fifth of those present, the names of the voters are called in order so that it may be known precisely how each one votes, or whether any are absent so as not to be counted. In the English Parliament the *ayes* go over to one side of the hall, and the *noes* go to the other side. This is the *division of the house*.

The ballot. — Men are sometimes timid and do not like to express their opinion openly, for fear that it may

be unpopular, or lest some unfriendly person may resent their vote. Workmen do not always like to vote openly against their employers. It is often, indeed, a very delicate matter to choose among a number of candidates for an office, some of whom may be personal friends, and yet unfitted for the place. When many officers have to be chosen at once, it is also a matter of convenience to have their names written or printed. The *ballot* is the written or printed vote. The word means, strictly, "a little ball," and in many clubs or societies black balls and white are still used to vote with; as the Greeks used shells on certain occasions. The ballot permits the secret expression of a voter's opinion, who might not otherwise like to have his vote known. It therefore protects timid persons and encourages them to vote as they really think.

The ballot is not so well fitted for a representative body like Congress, where it is desirable that every member shall be openly responsible to the people who choose him, and who wish, therefore, to know how he acts.

Fair election laws. — The printed ballot is not enough to secure a fair vote. Various rules are necessary, especially if there are a multitude of voters, some of whom may be ignorant, or even dishonorable. Thus it must be provided that no one shall vote twice, as, for example, in two different wards of a city, and that no one shall bring in strangers to vote.

For this purpose the names of all the qualified voters of a town, a ward, or a district are printed beforehand on a list. As soon as anyone votes, his name is "checked off" the list. It is necessary also that the ballots shall

be carefully prepared; for example, if Mr. James S. Smith is the candidate, the name James A. Smith should not be printed instead, for the votes could not then fairly be counted.

Abuses in voting. — Candidates have often spent money lavishly in order to be elected; they have hired numerous agents to put their ballots into men's hands, or to persuade voters to change their votes at the polls or voting-place; even worse, they have sometimes bribed dishonest and careless citizens to give their vote for a present, a ride, a drink, a dinner, or money. Men have also been employed at the polls to watch the ballots and spy out what kind of vote each voter puts into the box. Sometimes the officers in charge of the election have been false to their trust, and have permitted fraud at the polls, and have contrived to count the votes wrong. Now, if cheating at elections were tolerated, or if any considerable number of citizens were willing either to cheat or to be bribed, popular government would become a farce. Laws have therefore been passed to protect the elections. Thus, there are laws requiring candidates or the party managers to publish their expenses; for there is no better defense against works of darkness than plenty of light. Should we not like it in a candidate if he would not lay out his money to get his own election? Let him agree to serve the people in case they want him, and leave the choice to them, being ready, of course, to tell them, when asked, what he thinks about questions of public policy. This would give a poor man the same chance as a rich man to be chosen on his merit. Who can imagine George Washington going about the country and asking people to make him President?

Voting in a Polling Booth



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AMAZONIA

The Australian ballot. — One of the fairest of the election laws is based upon methods used in England and Australia. It secures for each voter the privacy of a little stall or closet in preparing his ballot, as well as secrecy in voting. It also provides the votes at the expense of the government, so that no candidate or party can have excuse for spending money in an election, except for the perfectly proper purpose of holding meetings and informing the public. It allows any reasonable number of citizens to name candidates, besides the candidates of the great parties. It prints all the names on one ticket, so that the voter can choose freely for himself. The voter marks a cross (x) against the names which he chooses.

The elections. — The great election for President comes at a fixed time in November, once in four years, and in a year the number of which is divisible by four, for instance, 1920. The elections for members of Congress in each district come once in two years. So with many of the State governments. Local elections, as of town officers, are apt to come once a year. Special elections of any sort must be appointed with due public notice, so that no one need lose his right to be present and vote, and so that every citizen may know what business is to be decided. Perhaps we shall yet provide for citizens absent from home, to send their vote by mail. In cities, for convenience, there are many booths or small voting-places. Unfortunately the great mass of the citizens hardly meet each other at the polls. There are various special election officers who serve at the polls, or take charge of the ballots and count them. Not all of them can count correctly, though

they are paid well for their services. In a national election these officers, numbering many thousands, are paid by the United States.

The nomination system.—How shall the citizen know for whom to vote for example, as his Congressman? There are many thousands of voters in his district, and perhaps hundreds of men, some worthy and others quite unfit, are willing to go to Congress. It becomes necessary, therefore, for the voters in different counties or cities to hold meetings of each party or group who desire to be represented, long enough before the regular election to choose candidates and publish their names and hold public meetings in their favor. These earlier meetings for nominating the candidates for the different offices are the *primaries*. The expense of the primaries is paid by the State. There may be also, and, in the election of a President, there must be conventions, or large party meetings, to nominate important candidates and to draw up a program or platform showing what each party or group of people, by various names—Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Prohibitionists, Single Taxers, etc.—propose to do if their candidates succeed.

Majority and plurality.—In some cases the law requires a majority, that is, more than half of the votes cast, to elect. Is it not unfortunate that any important officer should be elected without the wish of at least half of the electors? In many cases, however, the candidate may be elected by a plurality of votes, that is, by more than anyone else has, although the number who wish his election may not be a quarter of all the voters. When several candidates are in the field for

the same office, this rule sometimes allows the election of a very insignificant man. On the other hand, the rule that requires a majority to elect may necessitate a second election to determine which of the two candidates having the largest vote shall be chosen. All these points can be illustrated by elections in the school-room.

Who may vote. — In general, all the men twenty-one years of age, and in an increasing number of States the women also, may exercise suffrage or the right to vote. A foreigner must be naturalized, that is, take out certain papers showing that he will henceforth be an American citizen. One must also have been a resident in the country for a certain period, and also in the State, as well as in the town where he wishes to vote. Otherwise, one might travel at election times, and vote in two or more States. Or a stranger might vote before he understood the questions upon which he was voting. The laws of the States differ about the conditions of voting. Not all of them yet require the voter to be able to read and write. They are apt to allow newcomers to vote on rather easy terms. Whoever is recognized as a citizen to vote at a State election can also vote in the same State at a national election. But no one can vote in two places; even though a man owns a mill in Lowell, and pays a large tax, he can have no vote to decide how the money of Lowell shall be expended, unless he resides there.

The business of voters in a city or town consists largely in procuring the right kind of men to expend money for the public welfare. Suppose considerable numbers of people do not make the city their permanent home,

and never pay any contribution or tax for the schools and other expenses of the city, and know nothing of the candidates for office; how can they fairly ask the privilege of voting, when they feel no responsibility for any service to the city?

Property suffrage and manhood suffrage. — It is a new idea in the world that all men, wherever they are born, should have equal rights in the government. Men of foreign birth used to be treated with suspicion, as outsiders. It was also thought that a man ought to have property in order to be a citizen. Many of our States once had laws which obliged a man to own a certain amount of property before he could become a citizen. There are those who still hold that, especially in town or city affairs, no man should be allowed to vote, at least on questions concerning property, or for the expenditure of money, except property-holders. But the prevailing American idea is that every one who is an actual inhabitant of the State has a stake or interest in the government. Directly or indirectly he helps pay the taxes, and is oppressed if the Government passes unjust laws. The American or democratic idea, therefore, is to trust every man to do his duty by the Government, since a man, whether rich or poor, is still a man. The State does not fear the votes of men who are poor, but it fears the votes of dishonest or ignorant men.

Woman suffrage. — In barbarous or warlike times it was neither customary nor safe for women to attend public meetings. The business of government, as of war, was thought to be the affair of the men. Customs of this sort are slow to change. It was therefore taken

for granted, when our Government was formed, that women were citizens to be protected, and to pay taxes, but not citizens to vote, or to bear arms. Meanwhile, with growing civilization, great changes have taken place in the purposes of government. Government exists mostly for peaceful ends, and no civilized nation wishes to have enemies, or to go to war. A large part of the functions of government interest intelligent women as much as they interest men. For schools, for the public morals, for pure and patriotic officers, men and women are equally concerned. In matters of local expense, in towns and cities, women often pay large taxes. Many women, indeed, through the death of the husband or father, have the responsibility of a family. Moreover, the customs of a civilized country now permit men and women to go everywhere in public together. The women can do a hundred things which no one thought of their doing a century ago. We are learning to respect persons for their worth and usefulness without regard to their color, race, dress, age, or sex. Why, then, it is asked, should not women exercise the suffrage equally with men? The suffrage has been given to them in England and in other countries. Many of the States have admitted women to full citizenship. This movement seems to belong to a great wave of democratic impulse all over the world. The subject is one of the open questions upon which good women as well as men are divided. Some say that it will do no good for women to vote, that it will only double the number of voters, and that if ignorant women vote, it will do harm; besides, good women have great influence now without voting. Others reply that it is

right, and, if so, that it cannot do harm. Moreover, it educates citizens to put responsibility upon them.

The purpose of voting. — The vote is the exercise of a right; would it be fair for the government to require the obedience and support of any of its people without their consent or advice? If, then, one part of the people voted and the rest were obliged to obey, it would be a tyranny. The vote is thus a means of protection. But the vote is not merely for the individual. It is also for the sake of the State. Thus, if on any question the vote *Yes* seemed to be good for the voter, but the vote *No* seemed to be best for the people, he ought to vote *No*. Or, again, if it were against the public interest that ignorant persons should vote until they could learn to read, it would be their duty to wait and take the trouble to learn to read and so to cast an intelligent vote; so it is fair, on the whole, that children, however intelligent, should wait till they have grown up before they are given the ballot.

If it were true, on the whole, that it would not be for the good of the State for women to vote, it would be unfair for individual women to claim the right, merely for themselves, without regard for the good of all. In fact, a "right" which is not good for all is not likely to be good, or a real right, for anyone. Those, therefore, who claim that it is time to give the suffrage to women endeavor to show that the change promises to be for the public good, and is a step toward the civilization of the people.

Proportional representation. — Proportional representation offers a way to do justice to minorities, so that they will not need to throw away their votes. Thus,

if a city casts 12,000 votes and has twelve councilmen, a party in the city which has a thousand voters should elect one of them. Every other group or party could also have councilmen according to its numbers. Likewise a small or new party could send representatives, *in proportion* to its actual numbers, to the legislature or to Congress. As it is now, a small party may have to go without representation for years. This party may have brave and public-spirited men, much needed in the government, who are never elected. Ought not every class of the people to possess its share of political power? Proportional representation is used in one or another form in various countries, and is coming into use in the United States.

A question about candidates. — There are many voters who always desire their representatives to agree with their own peculiar opinions. They prefer a candidate, for instance, who will vote for prohibition, in spite of the fact that on the whole he is a quite mediocre character. Other voters hold that we should be more particular to elect men of integrity and high character than to be sure that our candidates will always vote as we would like.

CHAPTER XXI

POLITICAL PARTIES

Debate and discussion. — Men rarely work together for any time before honest differences arise as to the best methods of doing their work. It is so when men undertake the duties of government. There are such differences of opinion at the town meeting. Some want to expend more money for schools or for roads, while others think that the taxes are too high already. Some may want to borrow for the new expenditures, and others think that the town should live within its income, and "pay as it goes," like a wise householder. It generally happens that many of the citizens are not fully informed upon the questions that arise, or they know only one side, and have not yet heard the reasons to be given on the opposite side. We have seen that it is always fair, before the vote is taken, to give opportunity for any who choose, to inform others why they deem one or the other course best. This is *debate*, or the *discussion* of the question to be decided. The more important the subject, the more needful it is to give ample time for discussion. Of course, it is neither intelligent nor fair to vote without knowing the reasons on both sides; nor to defeat any proposed measure which others offer, without giving them the chance to explain fully why their measure ought to pass.

The purpose of debate. — It is thought by some that the purpose of debate is in order to get the victory for

one's own side or party. But the true object of discussion is that the people may have full understanding of the merits of the question. If the wisdom of a course of action — for example, building a new schoolhouse — cannot be shown, no good citizen wishes to urge it. Persuade the others, if you can, but do not be so obstinate as not to be persuaded, in case the others' arguments are better. Do we not wish to give others as candid and respectful a hearing as we wish them to give us?

The broad or narrow view of public questions. — Sometimes in town meeting there is a plea for a road in another part of the town. A narrow or selfish man will oppose the expense, because it does not seem to benefit his district. Or men from the other end of the town refuse to vote for the new road, unless the town will vote an equal sum for an unnecessary road in their own neighborhood. The broad-minded man asks whether the proposed road is for the public good, in whatever part of the town it is. If it will make one part of the town more prosperous or accessible, in the long run it will be good for the town.

Rules of debate. — To secure fairness to all, there must be certain rules of discussion. We have seen in Chapter V that good order serves our comfort and convenience, and that through the sacrifice of a little liberty — for instance, not to interrupt — we all gain greater liberty. There must be a president or chairman who enforces the rules and a secretary who keeps account of what is done. The rules permit no one to take an undue share of the time, or to speak too often. The rules allow only one to speak at a time. They prescribe how,

after discussion has gone far enough, it may be brought to an end, and the real business not be delayed. What if the rules are managed by one person, or by a clique, to obstruct business, or to obtain unfair advantage over the opposite party, or to silence a speaker? This is sometimes called *filibustering*. It is what fighting would be on the playground; in which case arms and strength are withdrawn from their real use,—namely, to win honorable victory,—and are made to do harm.

National parties.—In the government of towns and cities the questions that divide the citizens are constantly shifting. There is, therefore, no good reason why parties should be permanent; but men who vote together on one subject will often differ upon another. In the State Government the chief things that any good citizen wants are wisdom, honesty, and economy. To a large extent this should be the same in the National Government. Subjects and questions are constantly changing; men who unite for one course of action, as the conduct of the Indian department or civil service reform, differ upon another subject; as, for example, the voting of National aid to the public schools. There are, however, generally certain great subjects so difficult to settle, and needing so much time to be fairly discussed, that men divide upon them into National parties. The question of the proper policy of the Government in the treatment of slavery long divided men into great parties. The question of the tariff, or how far it is wise to tax goods—wool, lumber, iron, clothes, etc.—imported from foreign countries, is one of these National questions. New questions of this sort arise from time to time and occasion new party lines; or, again, great questions which

agitate the whole people do not for a time appear, in which case the old parties struggle mainly to see which shall have the Government and the offices. Each party then claims to be wiser and purer than the other.

There is no reason why there should be two parties only. There have often been three or four, or even more. There are many reasons against the continuance of a bi-party system for a long time. Each party falls into a bad habit of opposing the other, and as a result public business suffers. Good government needs the coöperation of all the people.

We have already spoken of a natural diversity among men as *radicals* or *conservatives*. Political parties depend upon these natural divisions among human beings. Each side has its values and its dangers. Our education ought to keep us from taking up with every new thing merely because it is novel, or holding to the old way because it is old. Our education ought to wake us up to see both sides in every question and to be perfectly willing to help do the best thing. How could the world improve if people were unwilling to try promising experiments; or again, if we were forever throwing away our old ideas and tools and methods before we had really got better ones?

Party organization. — The chief object of National parties is to get control of the Government by the election of the President and a majority of Congress, so as to be able to carry out the party policy. The great parties, being obliged to discuss and persuade voters, and, if successful, to determine what ought to be done, are in the habit of organizing throughout the country. In every town and State the citizens who belong to a

particular party hold meetings called *caucuses* and *conventions*, in which they appoint party officers and choose their candidates to be voted for at the next election, and pass "resolutions," or statements of what they think should be done. And since men become accustomed to working in party ranks for the great National elections, for example, as Republicans, Democrats, or Socialists, they are apt to vote on the same lines and with the same party organizations in State or municipal elections. Can there be any good reason why Republicans or Democrats should not unite in choosing the same candidate for mayor or representative to the legislature, provided he will make an honest and efficient officer, as they would unite to choose the best man as superintendent of a railroad? Yet they often prefer to vote with their party for a less capable man rather than to elect a good man of the opposite party. The more ignorant voters are, the more likely are they to vote without thinking, merely as their party leaders bid them. The watchword of such voters is, "My party, right or wrong!"

Independents in politics.—Among men, as in the schoolroom, there are always some who ask questions and want to know the reason of things. Some boys on a holiday do not care always to go with the crowd, but prefer to be by themselves. Such as these, who think for themselves, and dare to stand alone, make the independents in politics. Sometimes they are wrong-headed, or unsympathetic, or unsocial. They may make mistakes, as the wisest men sometimes do. But it is important to have independent men in every community. They are likely to prefer the good of their country to the success of their party. They will not

act with their party, or will leave it, if it is wrong. If the other party changes, as parties sometimes change, and advocates measures that they believe in; if they change their own minds, as sensible men sometimes must; if the other party puts forward better candidates; or if a new party arises, the independent voters are willing to act wherever they believe that they can best secure the public welfare. They therefore help to keep the great parties right.

It will be observed, however, that in a country with millions of voters, no individual can effect much with his vote unless he joins somewhere with others who think with him. And although a few patriotic men, if banded together like the old Greek phalanx, may form a new party, or change the direction of the old party, or hold the balance of power between parties and accomplish a reform, yet the man who stands by himself and only finds fault or votes alone, is in danger of throwing his vote away. Good politics, like good business, needs the association of many helpers.

CHAPTER XXII

GOVERNMENT BY COMMITTEES, BY POLITICIANS, AND BY PUBLIC OPINION

The work of committees. — In a large body like Congress or a State legislature, it is difficult for every member to understand the merits and faults of the many different subjects which have to be considered. It is therefore customary to appoint a number of committees, each consisting of a few members. Thus there will be a committee of Congress upon foreign relations, and another committee upon the Territories or the Indian tribes. In the city government, likewise, there will be a committee upon the police and another upon streets. Though the advice of committees need not be followed, it has great weight, both in making laws and in the appointment and the conduct of important officers. For example, the committee upon railways may further or may thwart legislation affecting the value of extensive property and of multitudes of people. Or, the committee upon streets may entertain or reject extravagant appropriations of public money. A committee may help or badly hinder an honest and efficient mayor or governor. Thus the power of committees for good or evil is enormous.

A difficulty with committees. — When a single official is made responsible for any business, the citizens know whom to praise or blame. But when a number of men do a foolish or wrong thing together, it is difficult to fix

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the blame on the proper persons. In Congress or in a legislature the newspapers report what is said, as well as the vote of every member, but the action of a committee is comparatively private, so that praise or blame cannot rightly be awarded by the people. Moreover, many important measures are deferred till near the end of the session of the Congress or Legislature, and are then rushed through in a hurry. In such cases the members may hardly know what they are voting for, and opportunity is given to insert or conceal in bills, or acts, unconsidered or injurious matter—"jokers" or "riders"—so as to defeat the purpose of a good bill, or to force along with it some foolish or bad measure which by itself would not have received a majority of votes.

An example.—A bill in the interest of some great railway or other corporation is brought before Congress by a member, who is a friend of the president of the company. The bill is referred to the committee upon railroads. This president has another friend in the committee, who is able to persuade his fellow members to report the bill favorably. The members of Congress, having left the subject to their committee, are prepared to vote as the committee recommends, especially if the advocates of the bill belong to the party in power. Thus a bill, possibly unwise, or even unjust, may be carried through Congress upon the report of a small committee.

However seriously the action proposed by the committees may injure the public interests—for example, the administration of the post-office department—custom does not yet allow the Postmaster General, or any of the heads of departments, to come upon the floor of Congress and give his opinion. In fact, a bare majority

of a committee, provided its party is in power, may recommend important action, which the same party will vote to carry through, while the officer who has the responsibility for executing the law may not even be consulted. This is government by committees instead of government by the people or by their representatives.

The appointment of committees. — Each branch of a legislature or of a city government chooses its own committees. A common method is to allow the chairman or president to "nominate" or select the members of these committees as he deems suitable. As the chairman is the choice of the majority of the body, he will be pretty sure to see that the committees are made up as the majority would approve. It is deemed fair always to appoint part of the members of the committees from the minority.

The committees of Congress, through whose hands all business passes, are chosen in the Senate by its own members, that is, by the party who hold the majority, who put their own men at the head of each committee; in the House of Representatives nearly all are chosen by the Speaker or Chairman. If the Speaker is a Republican or a Democrat, he chooses so that the head of every important committee and the majority of its members shall be from his own party. This privilege of appointing committees makes the Speaker the most powerful man in Congress. He may appoint committees which can thwart the will and defeat the purposes of the President.

It is also a custom, not altogether wise, to appoint men to a committee on the ground of their *seniority*. This means that a member of Congress is given place on a

committee where he has served before, in preference to possibly abler new members; and he may come in this way to be the chairman of an important committee without having any fitness for it.

The politicians. — The great number of the people have little time to spend in politics, that is, in the management of government. Beyond voting and occasionally attending a caucus or mass meeting to hear speeches, they are very apt to leave public business in the hands of a few persons. There comes, therefore, to be a class of men in every community who practically manage the politics. They attend the caucuses; they are put upon the party committees; they are chosen to the great state or national conventions which nominate candidates for office; they are ready and willing to take office themselves. They bring out their neighbors and friends to vote at elections, and work for their party. They are apt to think that they have earned the right to its honors and places if their party gets into power. Such men, who make politics their business, are called *politicians*. The name is given especially to those who make use of politics to serve or advance their own private interests. It is not usually given to those whose interest in public business is for the sake of the public welfare, and who do not seek place or office for themselves. The name, therefore, while it has not a positively bad meaning, is not one by which the most public-spirited men would choose to be called. The word *statesman* better describes the higher sort of wise and faithful public servant.

Government by the politicians. — The politicians of any party make a strong organization among themselves, like the staff of an army. They meet often in committees

and clubs. They know what they wish to secure for themselves through the aid of the government, while the people are often indifferent. They are able to bargain with each other, and to combine to carry out plans for their own interests. They can usually contrive to nominate candidates of their own number. They can even trade votes with the opposite party, promising, if they are Republicans, to help elect a Democratic politician to some office, in exchange for help in electing one of themselves to another office, or *vice versa*. If they are chosen to Congress, or even to the highest office, they may be under obligation or promise to serve some of their fellow-politicians who helped to elect them, and to get places for them.

Wherever, therefore, men manage the public business for themselves or for their party friends, and nominate candidates, or appoint officers, or carry votes to serve each other, it becomes a government by the politicians. The politicians have managed in America to give the word *politics* a bad odor. It really means the public or common business, and it ought to be one of our best words. But it has come to mean in many minds the politicians' business, that is, selfish or partisan business. Thus, when the boys and girls, who have learned in their class in civics how the public business ought to be carried on with an eye to the good of all the people, actually see how differently the party managers behave, they are apt to get a shock of surprise. No really democratic people would give their government into such irresponsible hands as we often do in America.

Rings. — It may happen in a republic as in an aristocratic government, that a clique of men, an oligarchy,

contrive to get the affairs of a city or a State, or even of the National Government into their own hands. In this way various notorious rings have at times usurped the government of some of our greatest cities, especially New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

Some little cities have been as badly misruled. Self-seeking men have managed the party caucuses, and named themselves and their friends for office, and bought ignorant or indifferent voters to do their bidding at the polls. The bad government of our cities has brought disgrace upon us. Indeed, we have much to learn from the great cities in England and Europe.

Public opinion. — The wisest man or the most wealthy has but one vote. But his vote is not the only way in which he helps to govern. What he thinks, what he says, what he does, influences others. As one student in a school may persuade a dozen others to act as he acts, so a man of positive opinion may be a leader for hundreds of voters. As one persuades another or sets another to thinking, and so moves men's minds, who again, like ivory balls, move others in the same way, public opinion is made. One, or a few, wise, thoughtful, or public-spirited men may start public opinion; but once started, a multitude by and by take it up. Public opinion is behind votes, for votes only express it. But it is often stronger and quicker than votes. Public opinion, often started by a few, sometimes right and sometimes wrong, is immediately published in the newspapers and presently reaches millions of people.

It is not in human nature to wish to resist or oppose public opinion. It requires a brave man to stand against it, even when it is wrong or mistaken. Public

opinion is often, therefore, a check against abuses of the government. A Congress, however negligent of the public interest, will not venture far to do what the people really disapprove. When public opinion is aroused to require honest public service, no corrupt ring can stand. Even a little stream of sound public opinion, directed by a few brave citizens, and expressed by voice and helped on by the press, when aimed toward a reform or against an abuse, makes itself speedily felt, so that the politicians themselves hasten to heed it; as a hunger or a pain in the body, telegraphed through the appropriate nerves, urges the will of a man to satisfy its need. Thus, if at any time, through faults in the government or the practices of negligent officers, harm is being done, a remedy is on hand when public opinion is sufficiently stirred.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CITIZEN'S DUTIES TO HIS GOVERNMENT

WE have seen how numerous and important the services are which a national, state, or local government renders to its citizens. It extends its protection over their lives and property; it provides courts of justice, schools, and education; it maintains roads and carries the mails; it brings water and extinguishes fires; it guards the public health and cleanses the streets; it supports public hospitals. All these things, and more, are done by the government for its citizens. Who would wish to enjoy these benefits without making any return? There are several simple duties, therefore, which the citizens owe to the government.

Obeying the laws. — In every civilized State there are definite laws. Some of them are old, and no one knows when they were first made; others have been decreed by the government of the city, the State, or the Nation, by the legislature, the Congress, or the Parliament. They treat all sorts of subjects — property, commerce, behavior. Some of the laws, and generally the oldest of all, are such as appeal to every one's conscience, such as we learn in our childhood; as, for example, not to steal or to injure another. We should obey these moral laws, if no courts threatened to enforce them. There are many other rules, ordinances, and laws, however, which have been found by experience

to be necessary, or which serve the common convenience. Thus, the laws may require children to attend school, because no State can afford to let its youth grow up in ignorance.

Sometimes a law may seem to the individual citizen unnecessary or trivial, or may prove inconvenient. For example, in cities it is necessary to forbid the use of firearms, although a discreet or skillful person might carry a gun or pistol without injury. Employers are also liable to a fine for hiring boys or girls who ought to be in school, although sometimes their parents seem to need the money which the children might earn. If any business, however profitable, like making gunpowder or selling drugs, proves to be harmful or dangerous, the law may forbid or restrict it, to the inconvenience or even the loss of its owner. In such cases the individual must submit to the laws. Who would wish to indulge oneself, or to make money by any practice or business which either hurt or imperiled the public good?

The care of public property. — If we belonged to a baseball or cricket club, every member of the club would try to take good care of the balls, bats, and wickets; for the expense of waste or loss would have to come out of our spending money. So in any home, no intelligent child would break the furniture or waste the provisions, since the whole family would be poorer for every cent thrown away. The same rule holds with the public property. What belongs to the government belongs to us all, like the furniture or the provisions of a family. In the public buildings, the schoolhouses and the school-books, the fire-engines, and the machinery of the different departments of public work, the highways, the lamps

and lamp-posts, the parks and commons, the light-houses on the coasts — in all these things, costing hundreds of millions of dollars — we each have a share. It is as if every child were born heir to a fortune. No one is so poor as not to be better off for this grand public property. To waste or injure or deface or destroy anything that belongs to the government is to injure ourselves. To break the glass in a public building is as foolish as to break glass in our own house. To litter our streets is as bad as to scatter dirt over the floors of our own home.

We do not merely owe the government, that is, ourselves, the duty to do no injury to our public property. We owe a positive duty to watch against harm or waste. If the treasurer of a club wasted the money, or the keeper of the bats and wickets left them in the rain, we should not quietly keep him in office. So, likewise, if we saw any officer wasteful of the public money, or careless in performing his work, we should dismiss him. If we were ever hired by the government, we should be ashamed not to do as honest service as we would do for ourselves, since our work in such a case is really for the common good. To cheat the government is plainly to rob the people.

The duty to vote. — We have already seen that it is a right or privilege to vote, so that anyone would feel defrauded if his vote were taken away from him, or if it failed to be counted. But it is also a duty to vote. In other words, we are not asked to vote merely for our own sake, to protect our rights or our property, but for the good of the public and because the ballot is the instrument to protect the rights of all. As in a club we go to

the election of officers to secure good management, so we go to the city election, because every citizen is responsible for the kind of government that he lives under. There is an old rule that "Silence gives consent." If, then, a set of bad or worthless men scheme to get the offices, the citizens who take no trouble to vote against them help the bad party into power and are to blame for the harm they do.

Suppose that the people are asked to vote *Yes* or *No* upon some proposed change in the constitution of the State—for example, a prohibitory amendment, forbidding the sale of intoxicating drinks; and suppose that many thousands do not vote at all. Whichever way the vote of the State goes, those who do nothing are to blame if harm comes; they did nothing to prevent it.

Ought a citizen always to vote either one way or the other? As a rule, why should he not? It is a pity to pass a law or to choose an official, when a large part of the citizens do not care enough to mark their vote. It may, however, sometimes happen that one has to act without sufficient information, or to choose between two candidates, neither of whom is fit for the office. Ought we to vote in the dark, or help to elect an unfit man? The fact that citizens in such a case withhold their vote may work by and by to procure better candidates, and more enlightenment as to the measures brought before the public. It can surely never be a duty to vote to do an injustice, or to tell a falsehood, or to approve what the voter does not really wish. Nor, on the other hand, can it be right for a citizen long to be content in abdicating his duties and taking no political action.

The duty to pay the taxes. — We have seen that the taxes under a just government ought not to make people poorer. They are money taken out of the pocket of the individual to put into the common purse, and by and by to expend for the common good. Thus boys contribute to purchase a football or a boat which no one of them alone could have afforded. So all the people of a city contribute to build good roads and to buy fire-engines, or to provide waterworks. It is every one's part to pay his share. Would it not be selfish to enjoy the advantages that the government gives without paying anything toward the cost?

The government may expend money for something that a citizen does not care for: as for a school, when the citizen has no children of his own, or sends his children to a private school. Suppose that he does not believe in building forts and warships; ought he to be obliged to help pay for them? It is fair to vote against forts and warships, but if the majority is against him and the taxes are levied, he is still a member of the Nation and cannot escape the common burdens, even if he disapproves of some of them. Would it not be unjust in the others to refuse to pay for the objects, like roads and parks, which he believes in? A member can resign from his club, if he does not like its management; but how can he resign from his Nation?

Men have often avoided their taxes and even lied about their property, on the ground that "others do the same." Certain towns and cities have tried to escape their share of the State taxes. But can there ever be an excuse for people to shirk or deceive, and to throw a heavier burden on the honest? "Two wrongs

never make a right." Do yourself as you wish all to do.

The truth is that if one part of the citizens are expected to pay taxes toward objects which are good for another portion — if the Western farmers must pay for the lighthouses for the sailors — these in turn must pay cheerfully their share toward other objects, like the levees on the Mississippi River. If, meanwhile, some citizens seem to themselves to pay more than their share, still, every one is better off than if there were no government and no taxes to pay. For governments in our time seek to do for the people what they could not do for themselves.

The duty to take office. — The State always claims of the citizen in larger measure every year numerous forms of peaceful service. There are many offices which suffer, unless filled by able and patriotic men. Moreover, the office frequently carries no pay, as with the school committee and many town and city offices. Or, as in the case of jurors, the pay is small and the trouble is great. The faithful officer is liable to partisan abuse, and in some cases to the loss of his place at the hands of those who want it for themselves. There are therefore many citizens who, for various reasons, do not desire office, or cannot, they think, afford to give up lucrative business of their own even to go to Congress, or to be made a judge or mayor, or a governor, much less to serve without pay on some public commission. But the State generally needs most the very men who desire office least, and who have no selfish ends to seek by taking it. Since the State can command even the citizen's life, does it not follow that he ought willingly

to give up his time when called to take office for the public good?

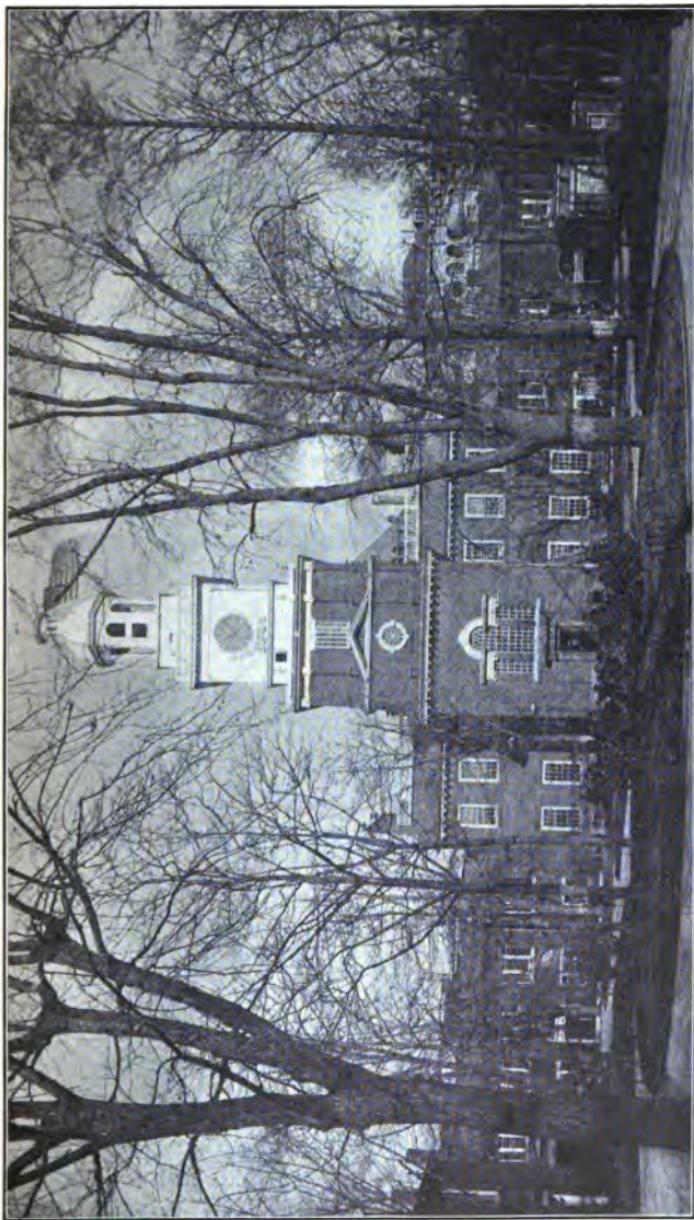
Public spirit. — In almost every community there are certain men and women who are known as *public spirited*. Others may be selfish or narrow-minded, and vote or act as their private interests seem to require. But the public-spirited citizens take broad and generous views, and always prefer the good of the State or the Nation to their own profit. There are various occasions of public emergency — a great fire, or flood, or earthquake — when a citizen may have to offer his life for the common good. Moreover, the good citizen must be ready not only to die but also to live bravely and honorably for the Nation. In ordinary times this is more important than the other. There are men who will fight for the Nation and yet will not vote or live a clean and honest life for it.

Exceptions. — It is possible that the law may require what a citizen's conscience forbids. Thus, in ancient Rome Christians were sometimes required to offer sacrifices to the statue of the Emperor as a test of their patriotism. There are persons in every country who hold their fellow men in such respect that they cannot kill a man in war. What should a child do if his father commanded him to tell a falsehood or to go out and steal? Would he not honor his parent more by refusing to obey than by obeying? Can any power compel us to do what we think unjust or cruel or inhuman, that is, against our religion? On the other hand, one must be careful to know that his conscience is enlightened, and that he is truly following his conscience, and not his own will or his fears. If he follows his own conscience rather

than the prevailing custom or law, he must be prepared to take the consequences — perhaps to pay a fine, or go to jail, or even to lose his life, like Socrates and Sir Thomas More and other brave men.

Meanwhile, since no two boys or men see their duty on every subject in the same light, we have to be patient with each other and to ask at every point: What is best for all of us? Our forefathers indeed resorted to revolution because they did not see what else to do. But now we have our own courts to redress wrong. We can also vote for representatives who will take measures to right our wrongs.

It has sometimes happened that a public officer has been required to perform duties against his conscience. Thus a marshal of the United States might once have had to act against his conscience in arresting a fugitive slave. There is, however, no obligation to take public office, if the laws require wrongful conduct. Do not forget the fine story of Grenville Sharp, that fast friend of America who gave up his place in the British Ordnance office, because he could not handle war material to be used against the American colonies!



Independence Hall, Philadelphia



CHAPTER XXIV

THE ABUSES AND PERILS OF GOVERNMENT

Abuses in government. — As long as men tolerated the rule of the strong, government was often made the engine of cruel injustice. Kings imagined that the people existed to serve them or to fight for them. Multitudes of peasants and poor people still have to pay for the luxury of great courts, idle officers, and pensioners, and for the cost of wars which they had no power to prevent. The government sometimes tyrannized over men's consciences. It was not very long ago in England that a Roman Catholic or a Unitarian was forbidden to hold office on account of his opinions. A little further back, bigoted men thought it right to use the arm of the law to force their opinions or religion upon others, or to prosecute those who differed from them. There were terrible punishments imposed by our early colonial laws, and very cruel treatment of the poor and the insane was permitted. The power of government was used to hang men and women at Salem, in Massachusetts Bay, for the supposed crime of witchcraft.

Meddling with business. — Governments have also tried hurtful experiments in interfering with trade, with the prices of goods, or with the values of money. A dishonest king would issue coin of diminished weight or purity. It is said that between the years 1300 and 1600 the English pound of silver, worth twenty honest shillings, was at last divided into sixty-six little shillings.

The early Parliaments were often very ignorant. They thought it necessary to make laws to keep the money in their own country. They thus made it hard to sell goods abroad, or to get foreign goods in return; they did not see that trade made nations richer. They imagined that they could fix prices for wheat or bread, or for a day's wages, by law; they did not understand that though the law can fix a low price for a thing, the law cannot compel anyone to sell it for that price.

Governments are like the people who govern. — The truth is that the government always reflects the character of the men who rule. If they are stupid or ignorant, they will make foolish and injurious laws. If they are wasteful, they will squander the public money. If they are narrow and prejudiced, they will seek to persecute those who differ from them. If some of them are dishonest, they will cheat in managing the government. If they are greedy, or think that the government is for every one to get as much as he can for himself, they will make it costly and oppressive. Thus the abuses and perils of government proceed from the faults of the rulers even more than from the faults of a bad system or method. This is true if the government is by the people. For when it rests with all the people, it cannot easily be better than the average character of the people. If the people of a republic are ignorant, as kings used to be, if they are prejudiced, slovenly, and dishonest, it will be hard not to have officers and representatives like the people who choose them.

Suppose a party of boys from one of the school ships were cast on a desolate island. If they were ignorant and selfish, they would soon die, whereas, if they were

generous and intelligent, they might establish a little State, till they could build a boat or be taken off the island.

The best government. — The faults of the rulers make trouble in any kind of government; but some modes of government make men's faults especially perilous. Suppose the boys on the island allow the greediest fellow to keep the supplies. Suppose they let the loudest talkers make their plans, as men often do in government. Suppose, on the other hand, they picked out the most trustworthy and intelligent boys to take charge of the supplies and to make plans of escape. The great body of society must learn likewise to use its brains and conscience as well as its muscles and bones. We must contrive not to invite the weak, the dishonorable, and the selfish to take charge of government. Why not make use of the wisdom and integrity of our most capable citizens?

Faults of American government; partisanship. — It is admirable to be loyal to your friends, but what if your friends or your party are doing wrong, or if they choose unworthy candidates and act against the public interests? This is partisanship. It is particularly harmful in the legislature or in Congress, because members are elected and paid to serve the good of all the people and not to be slaves of any party. Do we not owe our loyalty to the people first and to our party a long time afterward?

Provincialism. — This word, which comes from the simple word *province*, means local patriotism as opposed to the love of the whole country. A man may care more for the good of his village than for the State, or

more for his State than for the Nation. Provincialism is selfishness. It was this which brought on the Civil War. For men were once trained to be more loyal to the flag of their State than to the flag of the Union. It is the same spirit that wishes the prosperity of a section, as the North or the West or the South, instead of the welfare of all sections. It is the same, in a smaller way, when one votes against a man from another part of the State, and insists upon voting for a neighbor, or for some one of the same church, when the stranger is the better man.

Jobbery and patronage.—Suppose a new city hall is to be erected; ought not a fair chance to be given to architects and builders to offer plans and do the work, so that the city may secure the best and handsomest building for the money? Suppose now, that instead of trying to choose the best builder, the committee in charge makes a contract with the builder who will make them a present, or do them personal favors, or promise to buy materials of them. This is *jobbery*. It turns the public service into private gain.

Thus also, if the government wants a number of laborers or clerks for the navy yard, all capable citizens ought to have a free and equal chance to offer themselves, and only the most competent should be chosen. But suppose the officer in charge fills the places with his personal friends, or with those who voted for him, or with persons of his own party. This is *patronage*. It is unfair to the public, because it is apt to put unfit persons into office and to keep them there; it is undemocratic, because it does not give equal chance to all according to their merits.

Logrolling. — Suppose your Representative in Congress is bent upon getting an appropriation for a lighthouse in your district; another Representative is trying to get money for deepening the channel of a river in his district; the lighthouse is needed, but the other expense is a waste of the public money. Suppose the two men agree each to work for the other's scheme. This is *logrolling*. "You help roll my logs and I will help roll yours." Of course, it is robbery, in the form of a bribe. It is no less a bribe, though no money is passed. You say, "The end justifies the means." Does your good end excuse you for bargaining to help waste the people's money?

The government and trade. — It often happens that a business threatens harm to the public, as when the factories employ children too young to work. The railroads may charge excessive rates of fare. Manufacturers or miners wish laws passed to help their business, or to prevent foreigners from selling goods cheaper than the American goods. Workmen, the sons of immigrants, wish foreigners to be prevented from coming here, or they desire to fix wages, or the number of hours of the working-day by law. The taxes may be so laid as to encourage one kind of business and oppress another. Sometimes the taxes are contrived to enrich a particular set of men, like the steel manufacturers.

These are some of the ways in which the laws may interfere with business. Sometimes the law is needful, as, for example, to protect women and children. But experience shows that it is hazardous to make meddlesome laws. We want to leave every one as free as possible of restrictions. If we thwart or harass a trade

or business it becomes more costly. If we favor it above others, besides being unfair, we take away the natural spur to improve and cheapen its methods. If we fix prices or wages or the hours of labor too rigidly, we tempt men to get around the law in some other way, and make it hard for honest and obedient people. Legislators and Congressmen have never been wise enough to meddle with other people's business.

Public debts and borrowing. — It is a good rule in housekeeping to live within one's income. But our modern cities have grown very fast; they have needed immense sums of money for buildings and waterworks and parks. Sometimes they have suffered from devastating fires. They have been tempted, therefore, to borrow great sums of money. The National Government, especially in war times, incurred a gigantic debt. Many States also have rolled up debts. A considerable part of our taxes now go to pay interest upon borrowed money.

The harm that debt does. — A habit of debt inflicts the same kind of harm upon a people that it works in a family. It makes men careless; it leads to further borrowing; it provokes extravagance, waste, and corruption; it sets a bad example to individuals; it is also very expensive. Is it urged that posterity ought to help pay for the public roads, buildings, and sewers? But the fact is that the present generation has to pay their cost in interest money, and then leaves the debt like a mortgage upon every one's property for their children to pay. A small increase in the annual taxes would probably enable every city or State to pay its way without debt. Citizens would then be more care-

ful to watch the use of the public money which is taken from their pockets.

The ignorant vote. — Our country has boasted that it welcomes men of every nation, and gives them free citizenship. But many of the newcomers have never enjoyed the advantages of public schools; they have been despised and oppressed. They come here, therefore, in great ignorance and with strong prejudices, sometimes against all governments. They have never been trusted to help govern or to vote. Thousands of them have been tempted to come to America for the sake of higher wages, and being disappointed, have become unhappy and restless. They needed friends, but the native citizens thoughtlessly turned a cold shoulder to them. Did we perhaps admit our new citizens faster than was well for them, or for the Nation? Are there any races who cannot be made into good American citizens? Many people find these questions difficult, and no one can rightly answer them without a great deal of good will.

Moreover, a large number of the early settlers and colonists came here poor and illiterate. A host of children in the United States do not yet go to school long enough to learn a citizen's duties. The freeing of the slaves in the South left a vast negro population, who became legal voters generally before they had learned to read. These ignorant voters help govern; but they easily fall into the hands of bad or foolish leaders. In many localities they are numerous enough to turn the elections.

Popular crazes. — Ideas are often catching, like wild-fire or disease. The new idea will seize thousands of minds almost at once. Sometimes it is an idea in favor

of justice or liberty or some needed reform. But it may be a hasty and mistaken idea. Thus, in the case of the "greenback currency," multitudes imagined that the poor would be better off if the government would print quantities of paper dollars. It was a craze when in old times men persecuted one another on account of differences in religion. This treatment never helped to make anyone religious. One of the most serious of popular crazes is that which hurries men into the lawless and cruel violence known as "lynching." Riots, revolutions, and even wars have likewise been kindled by such sudden movements of excited feeling. Is there not need of trained and careful citizens to hold fast like a rock against the waves of sudden passion or error?

The tyranny of majorities. — We have seen that it is not only a king or a despot who may exercise tyranny. Sometimes the majority may abuse their power to injure the minority. It is possible for a party holding the majority to manage so that the other party shall hardly be represented in the government. It is possible for the majority to levy unfair taxes. To gain the vote of a majority for an action does not make the action right, any more than the command of a king makes a thing right.

The lobby. — Many members of a legislature or Congress are uninformed upon the subjects on which they vote. Thus the legislature may be asked to pass laws relating to railroads or gas companies, perhaps to grant valuable franchises or privileges to these companies. It has become a custom to employ agents on the part of those who want the new laws and also of those who oppose them, to wait on the members of the legislature,

and use influence to secure their votes. These agents are often paid large salaries. They are sometimes in attendance at the capitol as long as the legislature is in session, to look out for the interests of their clients. They are even authorized on occasion to spend money to further their cause. If legislators are weak, and the agents are unprincipled, there will be bribery and fraud. These agents constitute what is called the *lobby*, a word which literally means the space about the entrance to the legislative hall. Laws have been passed in many States to control the lobby by publishing its doings and expenses.

The saloon power. — The tremendous abuses of the alcoholic drinks have required many laws to check or resist the traffic. There are more than a billion dollars a year and hundreds of thousands of people concerned in the various branches of this business. There is thus created a formidable power which is ready to purchase or threaten or bargain with either political party in order to get its own ends. This liquor or saloon power too often controls city elections, nominates men to office, and even interferes with the management of the police. Many think that we can never have clean politics till we get wholly rid of this traffic.

The life of the nation is like the life of a growing creature; many and various political perils and diseases are in the air. They demand intelligence, courage, activity, and patriotism on the part of the citizen. Good citizens are like the vital germs in the blood which fight off malaria. If these healthy vital germs are numerous, the body politic is safe and strong; if they are few and meager, the commonwealth suffers decay.

Rebellion and revolution. — The evils of bad government through tyranny, through persecution, through corruption and iniquitous laws, have sometimes driven men to rebellion. History is full of cases where the people refused to obey the government, or took up arms against it. When such attempts fail the leaders are treated as rebels. But when rebellion succeeds it is called revolution. Rebellion has generally been justified on three conditions, namely, if a government seriously oppresses its citizens; if all peaceable measures of reform have been tried in vain; and if there is a reasonable probability of replacing the bad government with a better. Otherwise rebellion is a terrible injustice. In our times and especially under a republic, rebellion can hardly be conceived of as justifiable. For the Constitution provides peaceable means to cure evils by persuading and enlightening public opinion. Rebellion, therefore, usually implies a condition of barbarism, where men are not yet good or intelligent enough to settle their differences like rational beings.

CHAPTER XXV

FACTS WHICH EVERY ONE SHOULD KNOW. OPEN QUESTIONS

BESIDES our system of government, there are certain important practical facts which every intelligent citizen should know regarding the officials who carry on the government.

The chief officers of the National Government. — Every one is supposed to know who is the President of the United States and who is the Vice-President. We should also know who are the members of the Cabinet, or the heads of the great departments of the government, especially the Secretary of State, who in the event of the death of the President and Vice-President would succeed to the Presidency. We should know who is the Speaker or presiding officer of the House of Representatives, since he appoints the most important committees of Congress. We should also know who are the most distinguished members of Congress and the leaders of both parties; and in particular we should know the two Senators from our own State, and at least the Representative of our Congressional district. We should know who is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, if not all the associate judges. We should also know who the ambassadors are who represent our country at the capitals of the great nations, as England, France, and Japan.

The State officers. — Besides the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of our own State, we ought to know who the State senator is in our district, and who represents the town or city in the legislature; the president of the State Senate, and the Speaker of the House. We should know who are some of the judges of the Supreme Court, the judge of the local district court, and some justice of the peace. We should know how to proceed if ever we wish to present a petition to the legislature.

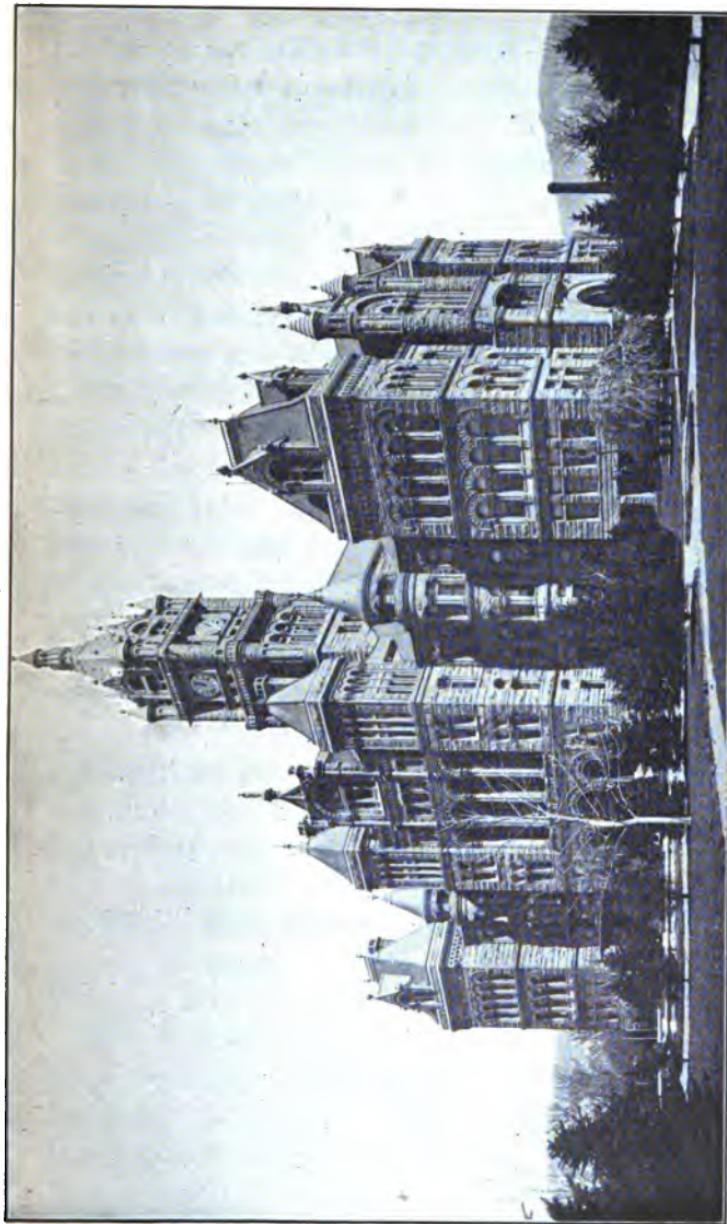
The town, city, and county officers. — We should know who the chief officer or officers of our town are, the mayor or selectmen; the clerk, who keeps the public records; the treasurer, who has the public money; and the superintendent or committee, who manage the schools. We want to know who are at the heads of the important departments, who take care of the streets and the lights and give us fire protection. We want to know who are some of the members of the city council.

It is well also to know what towns and cities make up the county, and where the county seat is; who is the sheriff; the county or district attorney, or lawyer who prosecutes offences; the registrar of deeds, who has the records of property; the probate judge, who has charge over wills; the clerk of the court; and the county commissioners.

Open questions. — There are certain questions upon which opinion is divided, or upon which citizens have not thought sufficiently to make up their minds to act. We have already hinted at the difficulties that arise from some of these questions. One of them is about the tariff.

The tariff, or free trade and protection. — The question of protection as against free trade is one that properly

City and County Building, Salt Lake City, Utah





belongs to the science of political economy. We can only refer to the question here and not attempt to discuss it or state arguments used in support of either theory, but simply to state briefly the different theories relating to the subject.

If there were no customhouses in the world and no jealousies between nations, and no war system to separate us from each other, the people of every nation could freely buy wherever they got the best bargains, and the goods needed in trade would be produced wherever it was most profitable to produce them. If the climate and soil of Cuba were exactly suited to raising sugar, the countries which could not raise sugar so well would be glad to get it from the Cubans, and pay for it in articles which they could make better. This would be free trade.

But governments raise great sums of money, mostly for war establishments. One easy way to collect a revenue is to take a toll or duty upon foreign goods as they cross the frontier. This duty is the tariff. In ancient times every little state and every city collected this kind of toll, as many cities in Europe still do. This toll or duty may be for one of two purposes, or for both of them together. One purpose is to raise a revenue for the State. Thus England raises millions of dollars upon articles of luxury, as coffee, tea, tobacco, and wines. This is a tariff for revenue.

Now, if foreigners' goods can be kept out by a high duty, the sugar, or the nails, or the silk goods will have to be produced at home. This is called protection to native industry. It is claimed by the advocates of protection that it is desirable for the country to produce, so far as possible, all that it needs; and also that after the silk

factory or other industry has been protected long enough, it will be able to produce goods as cheaply as they can be made abroad. It is one of the great open questions how far this Nation ought to protect the home manufacturer. One party claims that this policy increases the volume of the work done by the Nation, and thus adds to its wealth; that it is, therefore, American. The other party claims that protection adds to the gains of a few at the expense of all; that the educated and skilled American workman does not need protection; and that tariffs between nations, being selfish, are provocative of ill feeling and wars. We certainly should not like to have a tariff between our own States; and none of us like the tariff system when we travel to Canada or to Italy.

Prohibition and license. — Another open question is the control of the liquor traffic. There are certain kinds of business which are especially dangerous, and which ought therefore to be under the control of discreet men only. The sale of gunpowder and the druggists' business come under this head, and require some kind of public license. The sale of alcoholic drinks is particularly dangerous, since great numbers of men are excited or made crazy by these drinks. Besides waste and expense, injury to life and property very frequently attends their use. It is an open question how the public can best control this business. Some hold that, on the whole, it does so much harm to the public, and so little good, that it ought to be totally forbidden, like lotteries and gambling. Those who say this think that every one ought to be willing to give up the use of these drinks. Others vote to tax and restrict the business, and to grant licenses for carrying it on to only a limited number of dealers, who

must pay a large fee for the privilege, and lose their license if they disregard the law. This question will receive further mention under the head of social duties.

The initiative and referendum.—To what extent should the people hold their public business in their own hands, or entrust it to their representatives and officials? We have already referred to this question. The legislatures have often abused the confidence of the people. There has therefore come to be a demand for some way to bring measures directly to the people for their immediate decision. The *initiative* gives a certain small percentage of citizens, who must sign a paper to that effect, the power to set forward any business which they have at heart, and to require the legislature to put it upon an official ballot and submit it at a general election. The idea of the *referendum* is similar. If the legislature passes an act of which a considerable number of the citizens disapprove, they can file a demand, with the signatures of a certain percentage of the voters, that this act shall not take effect till it is referred back to the people. The veto power upon all legislation is thus placed in the hands of the people.

It is still an open question whether the *initiative* and *referendum* are needful or desirable. Some States are trying the system. There would, of course, be no need of it if the citizens chose honest representatives. For the people have the right in all free countries to petition for whatever they desire, and so to bring the reasons for their proposal to the knowledge of the legislature. If the people are negligent in electing their legislature, will they be more careful in voting upon measures referred to them? What if they do not fully understand the

meaning of their vote? What if less than half of the voters act at all? What if too small a percentage of the voters are allowed to impose the referendum? What if the privileges of the system are played with by a scheming faction? Besides, if we never trust our representatives, will they not become less worthy of our trust?

If, then, it is well to have the power of the initiative and referendum, we had better use it sparingly and guard against its abuse. We do not want too many laws, so as to tie each others hands and risk our freedom.

The recall. — Another idea with which some States are already experimenting is the *recall*. It allows (or compels) the people, upon a request signed by a certain number of citizens, to hold an election to determine whether a given officer, a mayor perhaps, shall be turned out of office. Some would like to be able to recall judges also. The open question is, whether it is fair not to give a public servant his full term in which to "make good?" Ought we to take advantage of a wave of impatience to turn out a man whose conduct, when better understood, may prove to be right? Especially, in the case of a judge, shall we be able to secure independent men to serve us, if we threaten to retire them whenever a majority of us do not like their decisions?

National education. — The intention of our Government has been to leave the subject of education to each State to manage for itself. If any State neglects to educate its children, that State will be first to suffer the consequences of its neglect. It is, therefore, for the interest of every State to provide public education.

The vast number of negroes emancipated from slavery and admitted to citizenship has put a new face on the

problem of education. The cost of public education bears hardest upon some of the poorest States. The ignorance of the voters allows unscrupulous men to cheat at the elections. The voters for the State officers in any State are also voters in United States elections. It might happen thus that the election of the President would hang upon the correct counting of the ballots of a few hundred illiterate men.

Some, therefore, advocate the granting of aid from the National Treasury to help public education, on the ground that this is a measure of National protection. The National Government has actually voted money to promote certain kinds of education in the States. On the other hand, it is urged by equally strong friends of public education that the best way to secure good schools is to leave the responsibility upon the State which will benefit by having them, and which will suffer if they are neglected; and that there is no State which is not able to provide its own schools.

Our National possessions. — The Spanish War (1898) left a perplexing question for a democratic nation. At the end of the war the United States had acquired Porto Rico and the distant Philippine Islands. Moreover, the Filipinos did not welcome our rule. The question therefore has arisen whether it is wise or right for us to continue to hold territory whose people we do not purpose to make full partners with us in carrying on our Government. Do we want them? Do they want us? Should we like to be held by a strong power of which we were not citizens?

The same question threatens us in the West Indies and Central America. We have undertaken the

management of the customs revenue of Santo Domingo and the Republic of Hayti. Does this mean that we purpose to annex these countries? Do we desire them and Porto Rico, as States in the Union? In any case we widen the area of possible friction and misunderstanding between the United States and other nations. Most Americans have not thought at all upon these great questions, much less intelligently discussed them. They begin to appear among the great problems for the new generation.

The question of woman's suffrage has been referred to in Chapter XX. Other questions relate to the banks and the money; the treatment of the Indians; whether the old custom of having two legislative houses is better than to have a single house; whether it is desirable for the government to own and manage the railways and the telegraph lines, and in cities the gas, electric, and water works, as well as the street railways; the various methods of taxation; how much may fairly be laid upon the succession of great estates; the treatment of bankrupt debtors (bankrupt laws); how far our patent laws work for the public welfare. On all these subjects persons of wide knowledge hold different opinions. It is well not to make up one's mind without careful study.

CHAPTER XXVI

IMPROVEMENTS IN GOVERNMENT. RADICALS AND CONSERVATIVES

A GOOD government is never completed. New conditions arise; new laws have to be made; old machinery wears out and needs repairing; new machinery has to be invented. This is especially true in a new and growing country. It is well to think of possible improvements in our system of government.

The presidential electors. — The framers of our Constitution believed that nothing demanded such wisdom and care as the selection of the President and Vice President. They accordingly arranged that the people of each State should choose as many picked men as the number of its Senators and Representatives together. These leading citizens from all the States should form the electoral college, who should be quite free to select, from the whole nation, the fittest candidates for the two great offices at the head of the government.¹

This beautiful plan has entirely failed. The presidential electors, so far from being free to choose the best men they can find, are really pledged beforehand to cast their votes for particular candidates. A great convention of each party fixes the candidates. A child could do all that is required of a presidential elector.

The usual method of choice for the electors, moreover, is thought not to work fairly. The voters of a State

¹ Consult Article XII of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

cast their ballots, not directly for the President and Vice President, but for the list of their party electors. A plurality of party votes elects the whole list of the electors of a State. That is, if there are three tickets or lists before the voters, and one of them has forty thousand votes, the next has thirty-five thousand, and the third has twenty-five thousand, the list which has more than either of the others wins the vote of the whole State. The votes of the other parties are thus thrown away, while a list may be elected which did not have nearly a majority of the vote of the State.

Moreover, in this way a minority of the people of the United States may elect the President and Vice President, while an actual majority of the voters prefer the opposite candidates. For the weaker party, which had, for example, only seven million votes in the nation out of fifteen millions, might notwithstanding, by winning the whole electoral vote of the great States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, with some smaller States, finally get a majority by one or two votes in the electoral college, although the opposite party actually cast eight million votes. This has actually happened more than once.

This fact tempts party managers to spend money in carrying the election in States where the parties are nearly balanced; while in other States, where a party has a large majority, men often do not take the trouble to vote. In these States voters in a minority party get no result from voting.

There is another injustice in our present method of electing our Chief Executive. The States with a population so small as hardly to entitle them to a single rep-

representative, or elector, have each besides this one, two electors to correspond to their two Senators. This gives several States more electing power than any other people in the Nation possess. Why should this extra power be claimed or allowed?

It would seem fairer, since the electoral college has failed, to abolish it, and to permit every citizen to vote directly for the President and Vice President, and to declare elected those candidates who have actually the most votes in the whole country. There would then be no temptation to spend money in carrying an election in one part of the country more than in another, and every citizen would feel greater responsibility in voting.

The time of the meeting of Congress. — The members of a new Congress are elected every other year, in November. The President also is chosen every four years at this November election. But the Congress thus elected does not meet till the December of the year following. Meanwhile, the old Congress continues to serve, though the country may have voted to turn out many of its members, and to change its majority to the opposite party. The new President has to wait from November to March for his inauguration. The long interval between the election and the meeting of Congress was perhaps necessary in the early days of the republic, when it required weeks to travel from the more distant States, but why should we not have the use of our new administration more promptly, now that a week will bring the most distant Representative to Washington?

The responsibility of the executive. — Our fathers were afraid that governors and presidents might usurp

too much power; but they did not foresee that committees of Congress and the legislature, and even the committees of parties, might also usurp the power and meddle with the government. This is as if the stockholders of a railroad feared to trust their superintendent, or to give him the power to appoint his officers or to manage the road.

The larger and more complicated the government becomes, the more directly do we need to make the chief executive responsible for its good conduct. The President must choose the best Postmaster General, who in turn must have command of the business of his office. If anything is at fault, it will be because the head is at fault, and will reflect so much discredit upon the President who made the appointment. So in the other departments of the administration. If there is waste of money on useless public works, or if our mail is delayed, we ought to know who is to blame. If the public business is wisely administered, we may like to reelect the President who gives us honest service.

The expert side of government. — We have seen in an earlier chapter how the idea of responsibility goes into all human business. To "play politics" means to play with the public health, with the schools, with every one's happiness, and finally with our liberties. There must therefore always be a certain group of citizens in every city or State, as well as in the National Government, who make it the business of their lives to serve the Nation. This body constitutes the expert side of a government. They are like the skilled engineers and foremen in a shop. We cannot elect the host of skilled public servants. We can only elect a few trustworthy

men—the President, the governor, and others, who, with the help of expert commissioners and superintendents, make the best choice they can for us. It is enough for us if we elect able representatives to judge and direct, and at times veto, the action of the expert authorities. Thus we maintain two strong sides of our government—the free or representative side, close to the people and quick to make its reports to them, and, on the other hand, the stable body of the expert planners and workers. The public schools ought to train an increasing number of youth to go into this expert service of the Nation, as men go into a profession. The people must learn to hold these skilled public servants in the same esteem as men in the old days held the soldiers. Our representatives, too, must make use of this class of officials. Why, for example, should a legislature or Congress vote upon any bill without first passing it under the eyes of its expert legal staff to make the bill intelligible and provide that it shall work no injustice? Why should taxes be imposed or altered, without first getting advice from expert students of economic subjects?

The Cabinet and Congress.—It is customary for the President to communicate with Congress by letters or messages; it is also the custom for the heads of the various departments of government to make reports to Congress, and to recommend plans for the public service. It has not been the custom for the President or members of his Cabinet to appear on the floor of Congress and explain the policy of the government, or to answer questions about it. This is as if the president and cashier of a bank were never to meet the directors or to be given

an opportunity, except in writing, of stating what plans seem desirable for the prosperity of the bank. It often happens that the executive and the legislative branches of the government fall out of gear. Congress fails to meet the recommendations of the heads of the great departments. Why not bring the executive and Congress closer together? Why not let members of the Cabinet at any time carry the business of their departments directly before Congress? The administration would be made more directly responsible for public measures. The country would know where a plan started, whereas now many ill-considered plans proceed from committees, and it is not easy to trace the blame. Moreover, a Congressman represents his district or State; but we need those who will speak for the Nation.

So also in the government of the State, the governor and the heads of the departments should have a hearing in the legislature, and be able to bring forward plans for the public service. The mayor and his chiefs likewise need to present their plans for the public service directly before the city council.

The short ballot.—The ordinary citizen cannot easily know the fitness for office of many candidates. He must choose by rumor and report, sometimes unfairly. There are many important offices now filled at haphazard by the vote of a multitude, which might more fitly be filled by the appointment of the executive, who would then be responsible for such appointments. Many believe that all judges, sheriffs, and attorneys for the government ought to be chosen in this more careful way rather than by popular election. It is not good democracy to con-

fuse the minds of the electors with a long list of candidates for all kinds of offices. We like to vote *Yes* or *No* when a simple question must be decided; we like to vote for a few important officers. But we do not like to be asked to vote on questions which we cannot understand or for candidates of whom we have never heard. There is coming to be everywhere a demand for the *short ballot*. It gives us a chance to vote understandingly for a few candidates whom we wish to hold responsible for good government.

Longer terms of office. — It would spoil any business to change the management every year. So it hurts the interest of the State or city to make frequent changes (rotation in office) in the heads of the government. As a rule, a good officer ought to be kept as long as he will serve. Even if another man might do, the experience of the first constantly adds to his value. The offices are not intended to give a few men places and pay, but to serve the people as well as possible. How foolish it was for Congress to fix the term of postmasters and other officers at four years and thus force each new President to fill these places again at the beginning of his term!

The two-thirds vote. — There are many cases in which it seems fair or necessary that a bare majority should decide a question; or, when there are several plans or candidates, it may be quite fair to agree upon the one that has a plurality, or more than any other. But there are cases when it is not wise or fair to compel a large minority by a mere majority vote. It is often agreed, for instance, that there must be a vote of two thirds to change the constitution of a State. Before taking any important step, ought not the bare majority to wait till

they have persuaded others to agree with them? Action thus delayed is likely to hold good, whereas action which a bare majority rush through may soon be reversed. Would it not be well if this courtesy toward a minority were oftener required, if not by law, at least by custom? Good democracy is not a "tug of war" between the majority and minority; it is an enterprise of team playing. We do not like to act against the protest of our fellows.

The budget. — Suppose a family live on a certain income; they must agree beforehand about how much they will spend for food, clothing, books and various other things; otherwise they are likely to be extravagant and to run into debt. The estimate of the amount that they spend is the family *budget*. Whose work now is it to plan the *budget* for a government? The city council or the legislature or Congress need to understand about it and to accept it in behalf of the people. But the executive, or some expert budget commission, ought to work it out beforehand and fit it together, or else the public money will be wasted. We have been careless about our budgets in the United States. We have not made anyone responsible for them. We have allowed mischievous subjects to be forced as "riders" upon the great appropriation bills, or a "joker" to be hidden away in some long sentence where Congress would not notice it. We do not yet allow the President, who can veto the whole of a bill, to veto a bad provision in it.

The radicals and the conservatives. — The radicals or progressives favor new plans and changes and hold that no government is so good but that it may be better. Some men are progressives because they are wise, far-

sighted, and courageous, but others, because they are fickle, and like change.

The conservatives dread change, being aware of the expense and risk that attend it, and holding that it is wise as a rule to "let well enough alone," or at least to delay change till it becomes quite necessary. Men may be conservative because they are experienced and cautious, or, because they are timid and lazy.

Between the progressives and the conservatives are many who are sometimes on one side and again on the other, or who favor one reform but oppose the next. The discussion and opposition of these two tendencies help to bring to view the advantages and difficulties of every new plan.

The great political parties, as the Republicans and Democrats, or Tories and Radicals in England, sometimes shift places with each other, and the party which has opposed change or reform will suddenly be found advocating some radical measure in order to get into power. The mass of men are very apt, like a party of boys, to go with a rush where their leaders direct.

Where the presumption should be. — We rarely approach a question without some bias in favor of it or against it. Often we have a right to this bias. We presume that a man accused of a crime is innocent until he is proved to be guilty. The "presumption," as we say, is always in favor of holding a man to be good rather than bad. So in political questions: there is a presumption in favor of the old or accustomed way and against change. It is for those who advocate change to show that the old way is wrong, or to prove that change is likely to be an improvement.

There is always a presumption, however, in favor of a principle, as justice or liberty. If a custom, however venerable, like slavery, can be shown to be contrary to the principle of human freedom, the presumption is now turned against it. We say the same if any change, like proportional representation, is demanded by justice.

The ideal citizen. — The best possible citizen is conservative and progressive at once. He prefers the old and familiar methods of government as long as they do good service; but he is perfectly willing to listen to any plan which promises better service. He is cautious in trying political experiments, but fearless as soon as he sees that the change is right. The men who founded our republic were at the same time wise and brave and candid. The best citizen is hopeful about the future of the Nation, for he believes, whatever abuses there are, that Right will triumph. He is quite willing, therefore, to act with a minority for a while, in order to further a just principle. Above all, he is kindly, obliging, humane, and friendly to all men.

PART III

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, OR THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF BUSINESS AND LABOR

CHAPTER XXVII

WHAT WEALTH IS

“WEALTH” has two meanings. The larger meaning comprises everything which makes men “well off.” Thus, a man’s health, his home, his children, the salubrious climate, the air and the rain, the beautiful scenery of his country, are a part of his wealth. In this broad sense the man who enjoys life most amply, whether he has much or little property, is the most wealthy. In this sense, indeed, his best wealth may not have any money or market value.

In the narrower sense, wealth is everything which has a market value, that is, which can be bought and sold. Houses, ships, lands, wheat, cattle, furniture, books and pictures, gold, silver, iron — such things constitute visible wealth, which we can see and touch. If they were added together wherever they could be found, they would make the wealth of the Nation.

Natural wealth. — There is much that is often called wealth which has no present market value. The fish on our shores, the wild lands, the timber in Alaska, the ores in the mines — these things of unknown value may sometime be wealth, but they are not wealth until they can be bought and sold.

In the strict sense of the word, man always creates wealth — sometimes by his labor, as when he produces wheat or builds a house; sometimes by bringing a thing, like wild fruit, to market and offering it for sale; and again merely by claiming it as his own, as when a man fences off a piece of land in the wilderness, or discovers a mine.

The public wealth. — That is not always wealth which costs money. Thus, a city may spend millions of dollars in building sewers or constructing streets. But the sewers and streets are not strictly wealth, since after they are constructed no one would pay anything for them. There may be public works also, like jails and almshouses, in which wealth is sunk. The need of such things is a public misfortune, and indicates the presence of poverty and crime. A nation that had quite outgrown the necessity for jails and almshouses would be far richer than a nation that had many costly buildings of this sort. A well man, who has no need of medicines, is better off than a lame or sick man who has to keep a supply of crutches and drugs.

Wealth is likewise sunk in fortifications and warships. The nation would be richer if it had no need of them, as a man is better off if he needs no pistols to defend himself.

Wealth in men. — There is wealth in horses or mules, because they can work, and can therefore be bought and sold, or hired. There was also wealth in men, for the same reason, under the system of slavery. A large part of the property of a slave State was in men. This kind of wealth did not disappear when the slaves were made free; free men own themselves instead of being owned

by masters. They can hire or sell their labor, their skill, or their knowledge. A man without owning any visible wealth may possess qualities in himself, such as experience and integrity, which will bring thousands of dollars a year. A State which has a plenty of such men will have all the visible wealth that it needs. Although wealth in men, that is, their labor and skill, can be bought and sold, so that a man with no money and a good trade is richer than an ignorant man with a thousand dollars, yet this kind of wealth is not generally counted. It is not shown in the census reports; in fact, it is not easy to measure it in money. Who can tell how much a bright boy or girl is worth?

Wealth in paper. — A man may have large wealth and never see it. Some of it may have been lent to farmers or to help build warehouses in a distant city. Some of it may have helped a company of men to build a mill, or a line of steamers, or a railroad, in a new State. Some of it may have been put into a bank, and then lent with other money all over the country. Some of it may have been lent to the government. Can you tell where it now is? While the rich man may not see anything that he owns, he has papers which show the amount of his wealth. Some of these papers are notes, signed by men who promise to pay so many dollars; or mortgages on the farmer's house and land; or railroad bonds, which are notes of the railroad company; or certificates of so many shares in the mill or the bank; or bonds of the government, which are really a sort of mortgage upon all the property of the people; or paper bills, which promise so many dollars in gold or silver.

This paper wealth, these bonds and notes and certifi-

cates, may be bought and sold in the market, but they have no value in themselves; the country would not be poorer if they were burned. Yet they are often counted as so much wealth. Thus, the State of New York is said to have so many billions of dollars in visible wealth, and so many billions more in paper wealth. In this way the same wealth is often counted twice. The railroad is counted once for its visible value in land, rails, stations, and cars; and then it is counted again for the paper bonds and shares, which merely show who its owners are.

So with the mortgage on the farmer's land. It shows that for the present some one else owns part of the farm. Perhaps a savings bank has the mortgage, in which case the depositors in the bank have a share in the farm. We have seen that the government often attempts to tax the same property, first as visible and again as paper wealth.

The wealth in paper may sometimes mean an addition to the real wealth of a State. Thus the people of Great Britain own a vast amount of wealth all over the world in lands and mines, etc. The bonds and paper certificates show that the people in other countries are so much in debt to the people in Great Britain. So, also, the people of Philadelphia may hold paper bonds and shares in stores and mills in cities in the West, and the people of other cities may own land and buildings in Philadelphia in the same way.

False wealth. — There may be wealth, or things which can be bought and sold in the market, which harm the persons who use them. Thus, if ardent spirits hurt and degrade a community, the distilleries and saloons used

by the liquor business lessen the wealth of the people. Although, therefore, the national census of wealth may add hundreds of millions for the distilleries and saloons, a true estimate would subtract this value, since that cannot really be wealth which does not in some way make men better off. It is like a vicious animal which destroys every year more than his value.

How wealth varies.—That which is wealth in one place may not be wealth in another. An acre of land in New York City may be worth millions of dollars, but an acre of land in Greenland is worthless. What is a picture worth in Patagonia? Wealth depends on a market, or on the desire of men to buy and sell. Even the same market may change from one year to another. Thus London and New York are the markets of the world, where all sorts of things are continually bought and sold. But, in case of a great disaster, men's desire to buy and sell may suddenly be checked. In that case the value of many kinds of wealth falls, though the things themselves remain.

Robinson Crusoe's lands and goats, though precious to him, were not strictly wealth till other men appeared to purchase them, that is, to make a market. Even gold is not wealth on a lonely island, for one man alone has no use for it.

Wealth is constantly being destroyed, or used up, or worn out. Some kinds, like food, are good only for immediate consumption. Clothing lasts a little longer, but soon has to be renewed. Houses and buildings at last go to decay. The gold and iron wear out. Perhaps one eighth of all the wealth in a country is used up in a single year. Among a poor or barbarous people

the proportion is larger. The land is the one thing which remains the same; but its fertility may be exhausted, while the demand for it is constantly changing.

The increase of wealth.—Although wealth is constantly being destroyed or worn out, it is also being re-created. The harvests of each year renew it; the labor and skill of millions of persons change the raw products into new and higher values, as in the case of a steel watch-spring, worth many times the cost of the crude iron ore. Even the land may increase in value by being tilled, or the growth of a city may give each square foot of land a greater value than an acre possessed before the city was built. Possibly half of the wealth of people who live in cities consists merely in the land upon which stores and houses are crowded together. The greater the city, the more the value of this land.

The wealth of a people is thus like the body of a man. It is in a state of constant change or flux. It is always being renewed or made over. How much can you find that has lasted over fifty years? Thus, again, we find that the skill, the learning, the energy, the character, the ideals, and the purpose of a people—in other words, what education gives—constitute their real wealth.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CONDITIONS OF WEALTH

If a household of children were rude and destructive, or had not learned how to use toys or articles of furniture, it would be impossible to keep anything of value; they would have no wealth. So with a savage people. As long as men were barbarous, the duties of business and property were extremely simple. The land belonged to the whole family or tribe. There was little furniture in the rude tents or huts where the people lived together in alternate plenty and want. There was little or no barter or exchange of goods, and no shops or merchants, and for a long time there was no coined money. The chiefs lived much like the common people, as is still the case among the American Indians. As men came to live in cities, life grew less simple: all sorts of luxuries were demanded; various trades arose; and there became everywhere a wealthy class, living differently from their neighbors. The growth of cities brought travel, and therefore more trade, as the people of one place learned to desire the things which another place produced. There came to be great trading cities, like Tyre and Carthage, which sent their ships beyond the Mediterranean Sea.

Unfavorable conditions. — There were serious obstacles, however, in early times in the way of industry and commerce and the amassing of wealth. Some of these obstacles continue.

War. — There was almost constant war. A rich city was always liable to be pillaged and burned. The caravans of merchants were likely to be attacked by robbers. Men had to defend themselves, or to obey ambitious kings, and they lived close to the line of famine.

Piracy. — The seas were infested with pirates, who saw no harm in seizing merchant ships, and selling their crews for slaves. Ships driven on shore by storm were mercilessly plundered.

Slavery. — Slavery also obstructed industry and business. The slaves did less work than free men could do, and the latter were less willing to work. There came to be a class of idle and unemployed people.

Caste. — In some countries also, as in India to-day, there were castes, that is, classes of people, the members of which could not change their occupation. The son of a tanner had to be a tanner. Thus bright men in the lower castes were kept from rising. Ambition and invention were checked, and warriors were thought to be better than workers.

Privileges and monopolies. — Suppose a single family owned the only spring of water in a town and charged the others for the use of the water. This would be a *monopoly*. The old world was full of monopolies. The man who owns a valuable copper mine has a monopoly. He and the other owners of copper mines possess the *privilege*, since every one must have copper, of taxing all the people. In other words, they have a power and source of wealth which others lack. So the owner of valuable land, whose grandfather secured a title from the King of England, may do nothing himself, but live by the rent of his land. When a country has many

people who possess privileges or monopolies which the rest of the people cannot enjoy on equal terms, there must be more or less hindrance to free industry and therefore to the growth of wealth. A few may be very rich, but the many may have to work for the few. This has long been the condition of England, Prussia, and other countries where land has been largely in the hands of the few. Monopoly of land is already a danger in the United States.

The physical conditions of wealth; the climate.— Certain countries, so far as we know, have never had any wealth. In the arctic regions, where the energies of man are nearly exhausted in the fight with winter, there could never be a rich civilization. Civilization has not flourished in the heart of Africa or under the equator. On the contrary, the richest nations dwell in temperate regions. The climate of a country is one of the conditions that help or hinder the wealth of a people.

Natural resources.— Certain countries are poor by nature. The soil may be sterile, fuel may be scarce, the supplies of valuable minerals may be scanty. Other countries enjoy rich lands, ample forests and coal fields, vast water power, good harbors, and inexhaustible mines. The United States is thus magnificently endowed with the materials of wealth. China is another such country which supports a vast population of industrious people.

The spur of necessity.— Why is it that the beautiful islands of the Southern Pacific Ocean have little wealth? The people are too comfortable to need to labor. The abundance of fruit contents them; the mild climate requires little clothing and makes unnecessary the build-

ing of permanent houses. We find few of the arts, or books, until men learn to work, and few would learn to work unless there were some necessity.

As soon, however, as the conditions of living become harder — when fruits have to be cultivated; when cold and wet demand clothes for men's bodies; when men require shelter and permanent houses — wealth begins through the spur of necessity. Necessity teaches men to work, and all work requires more work to perfect and secure it. The field once tilled has to be fenced or protected from wild creatures; the house has to be enlarged and improved; appliances are invented to save labor, and the inventions in turn demand new kinds of labor and new appliances, that is, more wealth. The introduction of the telephone into a town requires an increased force of men and women to manage the business, and the increasing numbers require more houses and more telephones. Even the effort to save labor presently calls for new forms of labor and produces more wealth.

The necessity to labor at first seems to be a misfortune. The long, cold winter requires fuel and hay, and more labor to supply these necessaries. A considerable portion of all wealth consists in wood, coal, hay, and substantial buildings, which the rigor of the climate demands.

Everything that men esteem precious thus arises from some kind of necessity, either real or imaginary. The need of bread or shoes or tools stirs them to work to overcome the need, and thus to grow rich. Would you not rather live in the United States and have to work for your living, than to live a lazy life in Tahiti?

Intellectual conditions; enterprise or energy. — There are some races, and certain persons in every race, who are more easily contented or more indolent than others. They do not keenly feel the spur of necessity. One condition of wealth, therefore, is energy or enterprise or will. The enterprising farmer will work more hours in a day, take better care of his cattle, provide warmer buildings, fertilize his land, and grow rich by his labor. The joy of life consists largely in doing things, in creation, in working out plans.

Intelligence. — An ignorant people have few wants, and therefore little wealth. An ignorant people could not have invented the steam engine, neither would they have felt the need for the articles which the steam engine helps to produce. It is only when the intelligence of a people rises to demand a vast supply of many things, that the new necessity urges inventors to harness the forces of nature to help them in shops, mills, and railroads. The single invention of the steam engine, called forth by intelligence, has increased the wealth of the world in a century more than it had grown in a thousand years. Science constantly brings to view new sources of wealth.

Taste. — A certain portion of wealth is for enjoyment or decoration. Pictures, statues, beautiful buildings, instruments of music, the products of the various arts, constitute this kind of wealth. It arises from higher kinds of need, as men want satisfaction for their sense of beauty. As soon as a people have learned how to provide a sufficient quantity of food and clothing, a larger number of their skilled workmen are set free to produce and to cheapen the articles of taste.

A multitude now have pictures, books, and pianos, which once the few rich people could hardly obtain. The more taste people have, the larger is the production of this form of wealth. The call for works of art, taste, comfort, and luxury requires more shops and houses, that is, greater wealth of other kinds. Even the taste for natural scenery adds a new value to rocky hills and wild shores, for which persons without taste would see no use.

Moral conditions: honesty. — There are certain moral conditions of wealth. There will be little wealth if thieves and robbers are abroad. For men will not labor and gather abundance, if their riches are immediately snatched away from them. Neither will they have the heart to work, if the government is dishonest and takes their savings ruthlessly, as most governments used to do.

Good faith or trust. — Wealth is daily changing hands. A vast portion of business consists in trade. Wool, cotton, and wheat must be brought from distant States and manufactured articles returned. But trade is impossible unless men trust each other. Trade is carried on in the faith that men will do as they promise, that they will pay for what they buy, that they will furnish articles as good as they promise. Even a few men who break their word injure business, cause distrust, and compel higher prices which the honest have to pay. On the other hand, if all men keep their word, more business can be done, at cheaper rates, and every one can have more wealth. We all gain or suffer together.

A state of peace. — When the early colonists were at war with the French and Indians, their cornfields and towns were often burned and their ships captured.

They could not make wealth in time of war. But as soon as peace returned, the French and the Indians helped them to get more wealth. The Indians brought them furs, and took cloth and iron in return. Their ships sailed to France, and both the French and the Americans profited by trading together. The Americans sold their furs and salt fish, of which they had more than they needed, and bought from France silk and other articles, such as they could not make so well as the Frenchmen. Trade made more wealth in both countries, but trade depended on the nations being at peace.

Courage. — Sometimes vast amounts of wealth are suddenly swept away, as by a fire or a flood. These are the occasions for courage, not only at the time, but afterwards, when men must go to work to repair the damage or to rebuild a new and better city from the ruins, as the men of Chicago did after the great fire of 1871. In various industries, in the management of steam and electricity, on railroads and on ships, there is daily demand for the same kind of daring to take necessary risks and even to brave death, as used to be called for in the hazards of battle.

In general, when men are friendly with each other, when their ships sail freely into all seas and foreign nations welcome each other to their ports; when many travelers go from one country to another and see what others can do better than they, this friendly travel and interchange help to make wealth. Men who see beautiful works of art return home with fresh zest for their own work. Men desire foreign fruits and products,— tea and coffee, pineapples and bananas — and bring

them to our markets. New ships and steamers must be built to carry the trade of the world; new warehouses must be erected to accommodate the growing trade; more fields must be tilled and more mills built to make things with which to pay the people over the sea for what they send us. Wealth not only rests upon good faith and friendliness, but the getting of wealth brings distant peoples together, and teaches them to trust each other rather than to fight. We see thus how the whole world may some day become a coöperative Commonwealth.

CHAPTER XXIX

TO WHOM WEALTH BELONGS, AND HOW IT IS DIVIDED

LABOR alone does not make wealth, as some think. Wealth is partly natural, as the land, the fisheries, and the ores in the mines. Intelligence, skill, and taste are also necessary in creating and managing it. Public order is necessary; honest, industrious, and faithful men are necessary. If religion enhances the worth of human life, or furnishes motives for noble conduct, it also shares in creating wealth. Property is worth more in the United States, with its schools, benevolent institutions, and churches, than in Morocco or Siberia.

The useful. — If a colony of persons were to settle for the first time in a new country, and take up land and build towns, their wealth would rightfully belong to all who had been in any way useful to the colony. None of it would strictly belong to the idle, to the wasteful, to the injurious, if such were among the colonists. There are in every community various divisions of the useful, who ought to share in the wealth according to the part which they play in making it.

Discovery or invention. — In a new colony there are certain persons who go out as pioneers or scouts to discover the natural wealth, the fertile lands, the fruits, the minerals, the springs, and waterfalls. If they do nothing but discover, and tell others where to go, they

deserve their share in the wealth which results from the discovery.

The inventors are like the discoverers. Whoever shows a new use to which iron or copper can be put is as useful as if he discovered a new mine. Whoever invents a process or a machine to save labor, that is, to set workmen free to do something else, to shorten the working-day, or to enhance the enjoyment of men's leisure, may be more useful than a thousand workmen.

Production. — The largest part of the working-force of the community must be employed in producing food and all kinds of supplies. There must be farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters and operatives in shops and mills, to make boots and shoes, clothing, tools, etc. Whoever produces something useful for the community ought to have a share in the wealth. Artists and painters belong under this head, if they add to the happiness of the community. The domestic work done by women comes under the same head. The woman who cooks the man's food, or repairs his clothing, is as useful as the farmer who reaps the wheat.

We observe various degrees of usefulness in men, from those who work by thousands with their hands to the highly skilled artisans, of whom there are never enough in a town. So among the workers of each kind we see difference of usefulness and worth, from those who labor awkwardly or without any interest, who waste the material and spoil the tools, up to the intelligent, effective, and enthusiastic men and women, one of whom can do three times as much in a day as his neighbor does.

The work of distribution. — It often happened in the old times that there would be plenty of food in one

place, while men were starving a hundred miles away. The farmer had no good roads over which to take his produce to market. In a civilized country, thousands of persons do nothing else but help distribute supplies. The grocers do this on a small scale in every village. The great merchants do it by wholesale in the cities. Their agents travel up and down through the country, buying and selling.

Transportation. — Railroads and steamships, together with hosts of teamsters and draymen, distribute the vast products of the Nation. Our railroads carry more than a billion tons of freight in a year. Express companies handle the more precious or perishable goods; the parcel post helps to bring butter and eggs to city homes. The farmer need not now stop working in order to go to market with his wheat. Millions of passengers must also be carried, chiefly to their work and business, but also for pleasure. An army of men are detailed for conductors and brakemen, who also deserve to share in the wealth of the country. Horses and stables, automobiles and garages, must be kept and more men employed to take care of them.

Protection. — The duty of protecting against violence and fire cannot be altogether committed to the government. There must be private watchmen in stores and mills. There must be patrols on the railroads to prevent accident. Whoever prevents injury ought to share with those who produce the wealth. The physicians and nurses, who defend us against disease, claim a rightful share.

Administration and accounts. — The business of the community needs a certain class of skilled men to manage

and direct. The able management of a first-rate engineer, architect, or superintendent may save the labor of hundreds of men, while poor and shiftless management daily causes enormous loss. The administration of business needs also a force of accountants, stenographers, and bookkeepers in offices, factories, banks, and warehouses. There must be trained heads to superintend accounts and make a multitude of figures tell the truth, or else, through error or fraud, injustice will somewhere be done, or supplies will not be properly distributed.

Economy; savings. — Economy is the care of values. There are numberless holes or leaks through which wealth is wasted by ignorance or carelessness. Whoever, therefore, saves wealth, whoever stops the leak, whoever keeps what another would lose, becomes a helper to the Nation. A housekeeper, for instance, may save enough food, which another would throw away, to feed one or two mouths. This is the same as producing the food. The larger one's responsibility is, the greater the opportunity for wise economies, saving perhaps billions in value to the Nation and making every one better off. This is *conservation*.

Instruction. — There must be plenty of persons detailed to the service of education. Whoever teaches, or waits on the teacher, or learns the facts of nature or history, or makes books, helps make wealth and deserves a share in it. There must also be libraries and museums with their attendants. So too, whoever teaches the laws of faithful conduct, or the principles of a humane religion, so as to help men become more just, patient, brave, and friendly, is a worker and sharer with the direct producers of wealth.

Comfort.—A man who has a comfortable house or lodgings will do more work than if he is badly housed. In a civilized country numerous appliances exist purely for comfort. A large part of woman's work is to promote and increase comfort. In general, whoever can help make men more comfortable at their work, or in their homes, whoever can lessen drudgery and render labor more pleasant, deserves a share in the wealth.

Recreation.—Every one needs, not merely rest, but sometimes amusement or play. Men who work hard, like children who study, need vacation; they will do more if they have it. Here is the need of another body of workers, some of them to carry on work while the first set have their rest; others to entertain and amuse. Extra cars and steamboats must be run for holidays and picnics; we must have musicians, singers, and actors; there must be hotels and restaurants. The producers must turn out a larger supply of goods so as to share with those who give them recreation.

Personal and domestic service.—There are persons who need help and service. Some of them are sick or aged, and cannot help themselves. Others are tired or overworked and require temporary assistance. In many households extra help is needed for the little children. There are also those whose time is extremely valuable in behalf of the nation. Would you have a great engineer like de Lesseps, a scientist like Darwin, an inventor like Edison, a wonderful painter or singer, the President of the United States, wasting his time and strength in sawing wood or shoveling coal? We are glad to allow certain persons extra service, provided they need it, or by reason of the superior value of their work.

We grudge this kind of help, however, where it is not needed or deserved. We grudge it to a young person who had better wait on himself than be waited on by another. We grudge it to the indolent, who are harmed by it. In the new colony which we have imagined, in which we should need every skillful hand, we cannot see why an idler or his valet should share in the wealth created by the useful people.

Luxuries. — There are articles like sweetmeats or jellies of which there are not enough to go around, or at least not for common use. Because they are comparatively scarce they are more costly than the necessaries or comforts, of which there may be enough for all. Many luxuries depend upon the cultivation of people's fancy or taste, and are not luxuries at all to those whose taste is not cultivated. A gem or a work of art might not be a luxury to a savage. There are luxuries which seem suitable for a feast, when we entertain friends, which would not be wholesome for ordinary use. There are other luxuries which we set apart for the sick or the aged, the use of which might be enervating for the young and healthy.

We have spoken of the need of extra personal services, in order to save valuable time or life. There are other luxuries, like travel abroad, or big houses, or horses and carriages, or costly dress, which we cheerfully allow to men and women whose lives are specially useful, who require spacious rooms for study and books, who represent the hospitality of a city to distinguished strangers, or whose services may be prolonged by extra care. In other words, there may be lives for which the community does well to make special provision and give

ample salaries, as we give particular care to rare, valuable, or delicate tools. What shall we say, however, of those who are lavish in their use of luxuries, when the necessities of life are scarce and costly? The empire of Rome was on the way to ruin while the rich rioted in luxury and the poor starved.

The family. — A considerable part of woman's work must be directly for the family, and particularly in the nurture of children. The health, the morals, and the working power of a people are high or low in proportion to the character, the care, and the wisdom of its mothers. Whoever takes care to make the children stronger or better deserves a share of the wealth. The saving of a single delicate child, like Sir Isaac Newton, may contribute to the State more than money can pay for.

The division of labor. — In a poor or uncivilized country the same person carries on various kinds of work. The farmer is his own carpenter and blacksmith; spinning and weaving go on in the same house. As fast as men learn to help one another, they divide their work into trades and professions, so that each shall do what he can do best. Thus each useful worker fits into his proper place and the total product is increased.

It is possible to carry this division of labor too far. We do not live to produce wealth, but we produce wealth in order to live better, that is, more happily. It cannot be good for a man to become a machine and to do nothing all day but polish the heads of pins. If he does this for part of the day, give him also opportunity to work in his garden and to see his fruit and flowers grow.

The division of wealth. — We have seen that wealth ought strictly to belong to all who are useful to the

community. How shall we apportion it exactly? Some men are more useful than others. Some are useful for a time and less useful afterwards. Some have greater needs than others. An artist, a student, an architect has needs different from a farmer. We cannot tell precisely how useful one is as compared with another. A distiller of strong drink may not be useful at all. A skillful teacher may be more useful than anyone knows. Good fortune may increase or lessen the usefulness of the farmer or the fisherman. No tribunal of men is wise enough justly to divide the income or the wealth of a people. It would not be fair to divide equally, for all do not work equally hard, or need the same amount. Even at the same table one eats more than another. It would not be just to let each take what he wishes; for many, like young children, are greedy and wasteful. If a city or country contrived to divide its income equally among its citizens, what should in fairness be done with the people who would immediately flock in from poorer or barbarous countries to share in the wealth of the richer place?

The law of supply and demand. — The way in which wealth is now roughly apportioned is according to the rule of *supply and demand*. If, for example, coal is scarce, and the demand for coal is great, the natural rule is that a man must work more hours, that is, pay more to get his share of the coal. If flour is abundant, less labor will buy it and there will be more time to provide other things. If carpenters are numerous and farmers are few, the carpenters' pay will be small; that is, they can have less flour or coal, or whatever else they need. If, on the other hand, there are few carpenters,

and every one wants their work, they will have large pay.

The law of supply and demand works on the playground as well as in the market. If there are few boys to play on the school team, even poor players are welcome; if there are plenty of boys, the poorer players have to stand aside, or make up a team by themselves.

The law of supply and demand discovers some articles to be more useful or valuable than others, and certain men and women to be more useful than others. It works to bring the less valuable things within reach of every one, but makes the scarcer things, like luxuries, expensive. It gives to the many persons whose work is less in demand, or less useful, whose places could readily be filled, less of the wealth, and more of it to those who are specially necessary to create the wealth. Men have not yet found any other rule than this by which to divide wealth.

The law of supply and demand is a law of *things*, not of men. Like the fire or the steam, it makes no allowance for men's feelings and needs. The law of gravitation does not protect a falling body from hurt; so the law of supply and demand by itself does not save men from starving. It works out only a rude kind of justice. But mere justice, without sympathy, pity, consideration, and friendliness, is harsh and often cruel.

“*Laissez faire.*” — These French words mean: “Let things take their course,” or “Let the law work itself out.” Thus hard-headed men say, “Let the rule of supply and demand alone; do not meddle with it.” But we do not let a river take its course; we try to control it. We construct airships and fly in the face of

gravitation. So we cannot bear to let the law of supply and demand work out starvation for our neighbors. We have to learn to use and control it. In fact men interfere with it constantly for selfish ends. They pass tariff laws and inheritance laws which prevent the natural working of the law of supply and demand. Government exists to help and protect its weaker members, not to help the strong to get or keep more than their share. The modern commonwealth therefore proposes to supplement the law of supply and demand by a watchful humanity.

As on the ball ground the better and stronger fellows try to make room for the poorer and younger, and to teach them to play better, so it is part of the business of the abler and stronger men in a State to make room for the less capable and intelligent and to enable all to prosper. We shall speak further of supply and demand in another chapter.

CHAPTER XXX

THE INSTITUTION OF PROPERTY

WE can imagine a people holding their wealth in common, as a club of schoolboys own their bats and balls together. Among a savage people like the North American Indians, a considerable part of the wealth is common. The tribe holds the cornfields. When game is taken, all the villagers share; a number of families will often live in the same house. As long as anyone has food, his neighbors, or even strangers, will come and eat.

Difficulties in holding wealth in common. — There can never be much wealth in a savage tribe. There is little encouragement to enterprising members of the tribe to work hard and lay up stores of provisions, where the lazy and improvident come in freely to devour and waste. Few would build new and better houses, or take the trouble to have a nice garden, or to plant orchards, unless they could hope to enjoy the reward of their work. Men who hold things in common are like children playing with blocks. No child can build up while the others pull down. No considerable work can be carried on where people have no sense of responsibility. Now, the best way to learn responsibility is to trust to each his own task or office or tools or garden.

The beginnings of property. — Property is that which is one's own, which no other person has a right to take away. Property begins even among savages, as it begins among children. Thus one's clothes are one's own. It

would be inconvenient for more than one person to claim the same clothes. So of one's implements and weapons, the axe or the bow and arrows, especially such as one makes himself. So of the ornaments and decorations, the shells or gems, or bits of metal that one finds. "These are mine," says the child, and every one recognizes the child's right to them. So of the Arab's horses, which he has reared and tended, or the flocks which he pastures.

Differences of men in tastes and capacity. — Property grows out of our differences of taste and capacity. One is fonder than another of shells or bright colors, and takes more trouble to collect them. One cares more than another for horses or cattle, and has better success in raising them. One is fond of ornaments, and carves a beautiful handle for his axe or knife, while another does not think the carving worth while. The ornamented axe is the property of the man who had the taste and skill to make it. One man loves books and pictures, and is willing to work a longer day to obtain them. They ought to be his, rather than another's who does not care for them.

Property by earning. — Suppose that a man enjoys working for some one else who will direct his work. A man with a herd of cattle hires him to help take care of them, and pays him in cattle or skins or money. Here is property in what a man earns by his labor or skill. It rightly belongs to the man who has worked for it, and not to others who have not worked. Would it not promote laziness in the men who did not work, if the cattle or the money for which another had worked were shared with them?

Property by exchange. — Suppose the man with the herd of cattle exchanges some of his steers, or some gems that he has found, for a supply of wheat. This, too, is his property. It could not rightly belong to others who sat still and did not help pay for the wheat. It would hurt their character to claim what they had not helped to produce.

Property by gift or inheritance. — It is surely fair for the man who has wheat or horses to make a gift to his friend or his son. The gift then becomes the property of the friend, and not of anyone else. Much wealth is thus handed down from parents to children, and belongs to the children by inheritance. May it not, however, be possible that our laws give extravagant protection to property of this sort?

Property by natural genius. — Suppose a man has genius to invent a useful machine, or to write a valuable book, or he has a beautiful voice, or he plays the violin. What anyone can make or do is his property in the same way as his eyes or his hands are his own. It would not be right for the family or the Nation to claim this man's genius, or compel him to write books, or to sing for them whenever they pleased. The rewards or the pay which he receives in return for his genius are fairly his. Others have no claim to compel him to divide with them. Nor would it be honorable to make such a claim. On the other hand, would it not be shameful in him to withhold the gifts of his genius, or to extort unreasonable pay?

Property by accident or good fortune. — If a fisherman has a lucky catch, we say it is his. The unlucky fishermen, or those who do not go fishing, have no claim to

share his good fortune. Let them take their turn at fortune another time. Men enjoy their fishing better, and they are more watchful and daring than they would be if their fish were taken from them and divided among the neighbors.

Suppose, however, the man finds a gold mine. Ought it wholly to belong to him? He merely found what he never created. Is it not enough if we make good to him for his lucky discovery, and then take the mine for the use of the State? Would not a good citizen prefer this disposal of the mine?

What, now, if a man has property, such as wheat, or bank stock, which rises suddenly in value. We call this increase his property, although he may have done nothing to earn it. Since he has to bear the loss when his wheat or his stock falls in value, it is right that he should enjoy the exceptional advantage when the value rises. In the long run, he is apt to lose as much as he gains in this way.

Suppose, however, a man's land rises steadily in value, while he does nothing to add to its usefulness? This happens in a growing town or a new commonwealth. People pour into the town who need land and farms. The land owes its increase of value to the coming of these new people. Does a good citizen wish to grow rich in this lazy way, without giving any service for what he gets, or sharing the increased value with his fellow townsmen?

Property by possession. — Suppose one found some of Captain Kidd's treasure: it would be impossible to restore it to its rightful owners; it would, therefore, be the property of its discoverer rather than of any other man. So, also, in case one had inherited property

from an ancestor, who had made his money by fraud, or by the African slave trade. It would still be the man's property, since no others could rightly claim it. Would it not, however, be fair if the Government levied a heavy tax on such pieces of property as these?

Property in land. — Such property as may be removed — clothes, furniture, ornaments, cattle, produce, money, etc. — is called *personal property*. This includes paper and certificates of property, such as bonds and bank shares. The most important kind of property is land. The land and the buildings upon it constitute "real estate." What gives anyone a private right to own the land? It is not property that is, *a man's own*, in the same sense that the things which he has created are his.

When Robinson Crusoe came to his lonely island, although savages sometimes roamed over it, they were not using it, and did not rightly own it. Crusoe accordingly took what he needed for pasture or for tillage and garden. Suppose that another ship were wrecked on the island, and its crew came ashore. It would not be fair for him to claim the whole island, and to make them pay him for the wild land; nor, on the other hand, would it be fair for them to take from him the land that he was using. The land was his to hold and use, but not to own against the welfare of others.

Suppose, after the best land had been taken up, another company of men came ashore. It seems hard that they should not have as good land as the earlier comers; but it would not be right to demand the fields already occupied, cleared, and improved. When strangers come late to the table at the hotel, it will be

friendly in those who are seated to move closer and accommodate the later ones, but otherwise must they not wait for the second and possibly poorer table?

As long as there is plenty of wild land, as there once was in the United States, there is little difficulty about the ownership of it. So, if every one used his land, having got it fairly in the first place, there might not be any question about its rightful ownership. But suppose the land was acquired in war or by violence; or by injustice, as when the Highland lords in Scotland dispossessed the clansmen of land which rightfully belonged to all the tribe; or by a fiction, as when the king of England granted or sold vast lands in America which did not belong to him.

The laws and custom have allowed men to take up and hold more land than they can use, and to keep it unemployed when others need it. This cannot be right.

When wrongs have been done, it is hard to right them at once without doing more wrong. For the present owners of the lands that were once wrongly acquired may have honestly paid for them, and may really use them. We do not wish to take anything which our fellows have paid for without making compensation, or to change the laws about holding and taxing the land, except with regard to the welfare of the whole people. Here is a great question to think about. Is our custom of permitting unlimited property in land a public advantage or not? Suppose there is more enterprise and better care of the land when men are free to acquire and use it as they please; even so, it can never be right that individuals shall hold great tracts of land as their exclusive domain, while millions of others have no land.

The right of eminent domain. — Property in land is in fact always held subject to the needs of the State. Thus, if the government requires a piece of land for public buildings, if a new street or a railroad needs to be laid out through a man's farm, the individual cannot keep his land in the face of a public necessity. He is simply entitled to fair compensation so as to save him from actual loss.

Corporate and common property. — There is much wealth owned by persons in common. Thus, several farmers may own a threshing-machine or a creamery. A number of persons may unite in establishing a savings bank or a factory; they constitute a *corporation*. All the people of a town or city own the public buildings and schools, the parks and the streets. Every newcomer who is enrolled as a citizen, and every child born in the city, becomes a sharer in this property on equal terms with the rest. So with the property of the State, in which every citizen is a sharer. So with the property of the Nation, including great tracts of lands and forests and water power in the Territories. Our Government claims such lands as belonging to the American people, and not to people in Asia or Africa, because the land is within our boundaries; as a farmer claims land for which he holds a title. The Nation thus becomes responsible for the care and proper use of this public domain, polices it, and provides against fire and other kinds of waste.

All may too become sharers in the knowledge, the inventions, the discoveries, by which each generation inherits the labor and thought of all previous time. The value of this common knowledge is immeasurable.

Property and the public interest. — We respect private property for two reasons. One reason is our regard for the individual. We respect his claims to his various belongings and earnings as we wish our own claims to be considered by him. A second reason is the public good. There will be more work, industry, energy, and thrift, if individuals have freedom to own and use and give away their property, than if we forbid them to have anything of their own. This is the experience of mankind. It is the same in a nation as in a family. The whole family will have more if each member can make and hold his own things, than if no one can call anything his own. So the community will create and possess more wealth, and all will therefore be likely to be better off, if each is reasonably free to acquire and hold property, than if all the property were held in common. We presume, however, that the individual gets his property honestly and not at the loss of others. To get property honestly means usually to get it by some kind of useful service.

If we discover any kind of property — turnpikes, bridges, waterworks, or railways — which, in view of the common welfare, individuals or companies had better not continue to hold privately, the individuals, in such case, ought to consent to let the public acquire it, in such a way as to do no injustice to the present owners.

Responsibility for property. — We have seen in government that an official does his work best when he is directly responsible for his conduct. So, a reasonable regard for private property works to make each person responsible for what he has. He learns about values, and what wealth is for, and how much effort it costs to earn a dollar. If the boy has his own clothes and hat,

he and no one else will be bound to take care of them. If he has his allowance, he will be bound to keep account of it, and not to waste or lose it. So if a man has his own property, he learns to use and save it. If he has his own land, he is responsible for the care he takes of it; he will take pleasure in tending and beautifying it; he will be likely to put permanent improvement upon it, in clearing and draining it; he can afford to build a substantial house, where an Arab would only set up a tent. To respect a man's property is thus to make him responsible for it; and responsibility develops his character and makes him more of a man. If he is a good steward for his own property, he learns to be a good steward for the public property. Whereas if he is too slovenly to take care of his own, he would be unlikely to take good care of the common property.

CHAPTER XXXI

HONEST MONEY

MEN do not trade together long before they invent something to measure the value of wealth. Money is that by which they make such measurement, as they measure distance by the length of a pole, or by a yard-stick. They begin with rude kinds of money, such as wampum or beads or cattle. Thus an American Indian would sell a valuable package of furs for strings of wampum. The precious metals, and especially silver and gold, have been the chosen forms of money among civilized nations for thousands of years. In early times the money was weighed. Afterwards it was coined; that is, a bit or piece of a certain weight was stamped by the sovereign or the government.

Changes in the value of money. — It would be convenient if one kind of metal had always had uniform value. But there is no such metal. The supply of gold or silver, like the supply of other things, varies from one time to another. The opening of new mines and fresh discoveries of precious metals tend to lower their value, as a large harvest lowers the price of wheat. On the other hand, increasing trade causes a demand for more money, and tends to absorb the supply. Ignorant people, as in the Orient, often hoard or hide their money; this money “goes out of circulation.” There is a changing demand also for gold and silver for other

purposes besides money, as for articles of ornament or luxury; thus much coin is melted down every year and ceases to be money. For various reasons the same amount or weight of gold or silver will not, therefore, buy as much at one period as at another. Probably a dollar in gold never bought so little food or paid for so little work as now.

The double or single standard of value. — It has been common to use both gold and silver money, though unfortunately the two metals vary with respect to each other, like all other values. Thus, gold is estimated to have been worth eleven times as much as silver in the fifteenth century, fifteen times as much at the close of the eighteenth century, and more than eighteen times as much in 1879. There have been further changes since. Thus, the silver in a dollar may not now buy one hundred cents' worth of labor or produce.

A moral question. — When the Government stamps a coin and makes it "legal tender," that is, good money to pay debts, the stamp is a guarantee or pledge that the coin has as much value as it says on its face. Thus, the gold eagle says, "I carry two hundred and fifty eight grains of gold." But if the Government should make eagles with one-fifth less gold than before, and still mark "ten dollars" on them, they would not tell the truth. Every one who had promised to pay a thousand dollars could use the cheaper coin to pay his creditor. But suppose, when the debt is due, the gold coin is a fifth harder to procure than when the promise was given; ought the creditor to be willing to accept fewer dollars? This may happen, without the interference of a government, but by a slow change in conditions of business.

The money of commerce. — Governments coin money, but the commerce of the world fixes its value. For commerce, in her great markets, like London and New York, where the business of the world meets and is settled, asks of all commodities, and the coins of every nation, What is their worth? A government may put a false mark on a coin or mix alloy with the metal, but commerce weighs and tests the coin, and will not give more than it is worth.

For the present, the standard of commerce seems to be gold. This is because the great commercial nations use this metal in settling their accounts. Even when they use silver coinage along with the gold, as a matter of fact, they refer their values to the gold basis. Thus the United States counts values, not in silver dollars, worth in weight of silver less than a dollar, but in gold dollars corresponding to the pound sterling of London. When money has to be sent back and forth between nations, the gold is more convenient, being less bulky.

Paper money. — Although a dollar means a certain weight of precious metal, most of the money in use consists of paper bills. There is, in fact, risk and inconvenience in carrying coin, and especially in doing a large business with it. If all the wheat and cotton of the West and South had to be paid for in metallic money, there would be great cost and loss, merely in sending the vast weight of coin thousands of miles. Civilized men have therefore invented paper money of various kinds as a substitute for coin. A large part of the paper money in use is issued by the National Government.

Bank bills. — A bank bill is really a printed promise or order for coin. The bank will pay you the coin if

you prefer it to the paper. As long as men believe that the bankers will keep their promises, and pay the coin when requested, they do not care for the coin, but find bills more convenient. In order that the people may be protected from loss, it is the custom for the Government to superintend the banks which issue bills. They are not allowed to issue too many bills; that is, to make more promises than they are able to keep. A great system of Reserve Banks established by act of Congress holds the banks together and helps to keep the credit of each bank sound.

Checks and drafts. — Besides bank bills there are millions of money in private paper orders which are sent by mail, or pass from hand to hand. Thus, a merchant in New York, instead of sending a great roll of bills to pay for lumber or iron, deposits the money in a bank, and writes a check or order upon the bank for the amount of his debt. If the merchant is honest, the check is the same as money, and another bank in Michigan or Tennessee will accept it from the lumber or iron dealer. Or, a merchant in New York, wishing to pay for his goods in Bordeaux, will get a draft or order for so much money from a banker in his own city upon a banker in Paris or London. This draft upon a well-known and honorable bank will be as good as money anywhere in the world where ships go. Thus orders for money become themselves a kind of money. The orders may even be sent by telegraph over the continent or under the ocean. Thus a bank in Chicago, which is known in Rome or Petrograd, may telegraph an order to pay some American student money which the boy's father had deposited in his bank at home.

Government and paper money. — The Government of the United States borrowed on an enormous scale to pay the expenses of the Civil War. Besides other methods of borrowing, hundreds of millions of dollars in bills were issued. These bills were the promises or pledges of the Government to pay as many dollars in coin as was printed on the face of the bill. The bills were used to pay for supplies and the wages of soldiers. The Government, however, was not able for a time to keep its promises and to pay specie, that is, the coined money of commerce, to merchants and others who wanted it. On the contrary, the quantity of paper notes was so great that some feared lest, as in the case of the continental currency of the Revolutionary War, the bills would never be paid. It happened finally that almost three paper dollars were required to get the value of one gold dollar. The value of the paper dollar varied with every victory or defeat of the national arms. The gold and silver were hoarded away or sent abroad to pay the merchant's debts. This was because the paper dollar no longer told the truth.

Specie payments. — After the Civil War, as soon as confidence was restored that the Government could keep its promises, the paper money rose in value. The yard of cloth that had sold for nearly three dollars could now be had for, perhaps, a dollar and a quarter. At last the Government resolved to make the paper dollar tell the truth again. It was announced that anyone who wished might have gold coin at the Treasury in exchange for the paper bills. But very few persons now desired to draw the bulky gold, since the paper dollar at once became as good as the gold to buy the yard of cloth.

Gold and silver certificates. — Besides the notes of the Government, or its promises to pay, other bills or certificates have been issued which entitle the holder to so many gold dollars, and again another class which entitle the holder to so many silver dollars, deposited in the Treasury vaults. These certificates are also as good as money, and much more convenient.

A national danger. — Our Government has, first, gold dollars which correspond to the money of commerce, containing the precise value marked on the face of them; second, silver dollars, stamped by the Government, but containing less than their value; third, silver and nickel currency, used merely for convenience, but not containing nearly the worth stamped upon it; and, fourth, paper notes and certificates, worth nothing in themselves, but guaranteed by the wealth and honor of the Nation. These different kinds of money circulate together as long as the Government honestly keeps in its vaults sufficient gold coin — the money of commerce — to enable every one who has silver or paper dollars to come and get an equal number of gold dollars, if he needs them, to pay for goods abroad. If, however, at any time, the Government should refuse to give the merchant the real value in gold in exchange for the silver or the paper, the same thing would happen as in the Civil War: the silver dollar and the paper would cease to tell the truth; the yard of cloth would rise in price; all values would change.

It would be precisely as if the Government, like the despots of old times, clipped the coin or mixed alloy with it, so as to make a new dollar of less worth. The true dollars, such as the commerce of the world buys and sells with, part company with the false or debased dollars, and

disappear from the hands of the people whose government does not keep its faith or make its money tell the truth.

We see here how war tends to unsettle values. While multitudes of men are drafted away from the usual industries, the labor of others becomes scarce and prices rise. While immense sums of money are borrowed and spent, the dollar cannot buy as much as before.

CHAPTER XXXII

CAPITAL, CREDIT, AND INTEREST

SUPPOSE a number of men go on a fishing voyage. It is not enough to possess skill and strength; they need boats, fishing tackle, and a stock of provisions to live on while they are gone. The wealth required to begin an enterprise, or to carry work through, is called *capital*. Thus a farmer, if his land were given him, would still need farming tools, cattle, and provisions enough to support him till he got his first harvest. He would presently need capital to build a new barn. In the case of a great enterprise, a factory or a railroad, an enormous capital must often be laid out to purchase materials and hire the labor of a large body of men before any return is made to those who expend their capital.

A poor or barbarous people make little progress, because they have no wealth or capital with which to buy material and tools or to feed and clothe workmen. Where every one is poor, men have to supply their own daily necessities. There must at least be an accumulation of food before great works can be undertaken.

The accumulation of capital. — Whoever produces or saves more than he consumes accumulates capital; for example, a farmer may produce food enough for a dozen families, or a shoemaker can make shoes enough for a neighborhood. Wherever men labor, their industry accumulates capital, or produces and lays up a supply of produce or material to be drawn upon for further work.

In the most simple society, the harvest of each year is the capital to provide against the needs of another year.

The use of machinery, and especially of steam, water, and electric power, enables a few workmen to do the work of armies of men, and so to accumulate capital on a grand scale.

Credit. — A man does not always need to have accumulated capital himself. If he can work and is honest, he may find some one willing to make him a certain advance of money or provisions on the expectation that he will do work or business enough to repay. The amount of this advance is called his *credit*, and depends upon his ability and character. If he is a skillful fisherman, he may find some one who will lend him a boat. If he has at the same time a piece of property, a house, or a lot of land, his credit will be greater; some one may trust him with money to build a larger boat. Perhaps an industrious shoemaker, who has saved a thousand dollars, thus becomes a silent partner with the fisherman, and both get on better by this coöperation.

So, a farmer owning his land and buildings may not only work his farm, but through his credit obtain additional capital to make improvements and increase his products. Or the owner of a mill may go to the bank and get money to buy raw material or to expend in wages to his men till his returns come back from the sale of his goods. All this is made possible by credit, or the trust which men repose in one another's good faith in keeping their promises. The more honest men are, the more credit there is and the more work can be done.

Corporations. — Many individuals, each with small earnings or savings, often combine together, and trust

their capital to directors or trustees who manage for all as they would for themselves. Thus masses of capital may be employed to better advantage than a small capital, in using machinery and paying many workmen, so as to produce more and to effect greater economy. Railroads, gas companies, cotton mills, savings banks, and many other corporations are formed by this kind of union among many individuals. These corporations for massing and using capital are only made possible where there is a considerable number of able and honorable men, who can be trusted to hold and manage the money of others.

Profits. — In most kinds of industry — in farming, for example — our labor produces more than its bare equivalent. There is a natural increase besides the cost of production. We call this surplus the *profit*. It arises from our putting into the enterprise something more than the mediocre average of our energy, brains, and skill. It is the encouragement which nature gives when man begins to work. Thus a farmer ought to be better off at the end of the year than he was at the beginning. There will be an increase of cattle and sheep and fowls. The amount of this increase will depend, not only upon his skill and intelligence, but also upon the capital which he has at his disposal. If he has money enough, he can employ extra labor to drain his boggy land; he can fertilize his fields; he can buy machinery, and harvest larger crops. Nature, by showers and sunshine and the fertile soil, will always add something to encourage his enterprise; on the other hand, if he is lazy and dull, nature will prod him with various discomforts to urge him to labor and to learn.

So in other kinds of industry. Besides barely enough

to support life, the patient and skillful fisherman will bear home a profit which he can dispose of to enable him to add to his capital. If he already has capital enough to buy the best sails and fishing tackle, and intelligence to direct a number of men, he can increase the profits of his whole crew.

The merchant, likewise, who contrives to bring supplies of goods to the points where men need them most — from the farms where the owners have been known to burn the corn for fuel to the towns where, without the corn, people would starve — will get more than the bare cost of his business and his living. He will "make money" in helping others to make money.

In short, the whole community, if intelligent and industrious, will do better than merely to live; it will be enriched by the increase or profit which nature, coöperating with man, gives for labor wisely expended. This profit will be larger in proportion to the skill, education, patience, industry, and integrity of the people. It will tend to come to those who show these qualities, but will be reduced wherever the people are dull, dishonest, shiftless, or lazy.

Rent and interest. — Suppose that a skillful young fisherman borrows a boat and tackle of a widow whose husband has been drowned, and goes fishing. When he returns, he shares his catch of fish with the men who went with him, and with the woman who owns the boat. This is her *interest* in the fishing, on account of her boat. This would be the simplest form of interest. It would be the same, in fact, if the fisherman, instead of paying a share of his catch in fish, engaged to pay her a fixed sum for the use of the boat.

It would still be the same in case the fisherman, instead of hiring the boat, borrowed from the widow the value of the boat in money. The young fisherman could then buy a boat for himself, and pay her for the use of her money the same sum which he might have paid for the boat.

Likewise, if the widow has a farm which her husband has cleared and drained, or which he has paid for out of his earnings, some one might like to borrow the farm, and pay her a share of his harvest. He might thus do better for himself than if he took up wild land. Or he might borrow in another way. The woman might have sold the farm outright for money; he could then borrow the money, and buy a farm, and pay her so much every year for the use of the money, instead of paying for the use of the land.

By the use of the woman's capital, the fisherman or the farmer increases his product; without it he could not have made so much. He, therefore, in fairness, shares with the owner of the capital. This bargain is good for both parties in it. If one borrows a thing, a piece of property, or land, the share that he gives for its use is called the *rent*. But if he borrows money, the return upon it is called *interest*. We have seen that money is practically an order to pay for things or property. The borrower of money really borrows the things, whether boats, supplies, provisions, or materials, that he purchases with the money. The farmer who borrows money to improve his barn or buy stock really borrows to buy fertilizers or cattle. The money is merely a convenience in making the exchanges. When at the end of the year he realizes larger harvests on account of these im-

provements, he owes a share as interest to the person whose labor or whose saving has enabled him to have the use of the money.

So with the mill that has borrowed money to buy cotton to make into cloth. Part of the returns must go to the bank, that is, to the persons who, instead of spending their money, saved it and put it into a bank to be used as capital for new enterprises. Do not these bank depositors deserve their share of the products of the mills, as well as the workmen who furnished the labor, or the superintendent who managed with the use of his brains to make the mill a success?

The rate of interest. — It might be agreed that the interest or rent should depend upon the amount of the product, whether more or less, of the fishing-boat or the farm. The lender should have a certain share, large or small, and the workman another share, and the manager who borrowed the capital still another. This is done in some cases. All then share in the risks and in the profits. Some years they would make good profits; again they might lose.

But suppose the man who lends the boat or the money prefers to take a small fixed rent or interest rather than to share in the risks of the business, and sometimes fail to get anything. This is usually the case. A savings bank lends its money at, for instance, six dollars a year for every hundred. The borrower gives security, perhaps a mortgage upon his house, and takes all the risks. The bank then gets a regular return for its money to divide among the persons who have trusted their savings to its care. The borrower has all the profits, after paying his interest and other costs.

How interest is fixed. — The amount of interest upon money, or the rent of capital, varies like all other prices. It depends upon the amount of money to be lent, whether it is plenty or scarce; upon the times, whether they are peaceful or stormy; upon the demand for money, whether few or many want to borrow; upon the security that can be given, whether there is much or little risk of repayment; upon the prosperity of the community where the money is used, whether the profits of business there are large or small. Thus the same money which will only bring three to five per cent when loaned to the Government might bring six per cent or more if loaned to a private person; or, sent to a new growing country like the State of Washington, it might get ten per cent or more. If the lender shares in the risk, he also shares justly in the larger profits. If he wishes perfect security, and the borrower takes all the chances, he must be content with a small regular share. In the long run the people who take risks, expecting to "make money" without labor or trouble, make less than their neighbors who put their money into the savings banks.

In general, and except in war, the rate of interest upon good security tends to diminish. This is because civilization produces such large capital and vast credit that reasonable enterprises can get what they need.

If interest is low, other things are likely to be low; and no one has to pay so much for hiring his house or for the cost of living. But if the interest is high, every one who has a dollar in the savings bank or a single share in a corporation shares in the increase. This is because the community is linked together, so that whatever affects the whole affects each one.

Usury. — Interest means the price paid for the use of capital; but it once had a bad name — usury. For in old times, before the science of money was understood, many thought it wrong to exact interest upon money, though no one saw any harm in taking interest as rent for property or land or boats. Money was scarce, and many lenders were extortionate, and took cruel advantage of their debtors. Laws were therefore often passed, forbidding more than a certain rate of interest. To take higher interest than the law allowed was called usury. But these laws, like the laws which governments have passed to fix the prices of other things, did little good. In some States such laws may still remain, though they are constantly disregarded.

The fact is, that all prices of money, land, labor, or products depend upon "the law of supply and demand." Ten per cent may be as fair interest on the Pacific coast, where the demand is great, as five per cent is in New York. In New York, too, money may be better worth six or seven per cent in a good year of business than five per cent in a very dull year. Neither can any legislature compel a man to lend his money or his land unless a fair return is offered him.

Foolish borrowing. — Wise borrowing proposes some increase of useful effort. Like honest labor, it produces for the community more than would otherwise be gained. But what if the man borrows for things that he cannot afford — an automobile for pleasure, or diamonds for his wife, or to speculate with? What if a man borrows, not to increase the efficiency of his work, but to spend for his living expenses? What if he borrows to relieve sickness or poverty? The truth is that most of us had

better pay as we go, and lay by a little if possible, so as not to need to borrow and to be able on occasion to help a friend.

Farmers' banks. — An interesting plan enables farmers to use capital upon their farms. The National Government provides for the establishment of banks in different sections of the country and lends its credit to start them. Investors of money are given the opportunity, safely guarded, to put their savings into these banks. The farmers give security for the amount of the loans and the money helps them to raise more produce than they otherwise could. The farmers of a neighborhood are associated together in procuring and using this money. They are given time in which to repay their loans and they pay a lower interest rate than if each farmer by himself had to find a money lender. This is what coöperation does to help people to help themselves. In many countries, for instance, in Denmark, there are immense systems of such coöperation.

CHAPTER XXXIII

LABOR AND COMPETITION

The law of life. — The general rule is that men must work for their living. The amount of work required may vary with men's wants, or with the climate in which they live. A native of Samoa may get all the breadfruit and cocoanuts that he needs with little effort. But the higher the standard of civilization, the more things men want; and the more labor therefore becomes necessary.

The use of machinery, with the forces of steam and electricity, does not serve to change the general law. The more men use machines, the more their needs increase, so that the demand for labor still continues. Thus, when cloth could only be woven slowly by hand, men could have little cloth. But now that water power or steam can be made to weave cloth, every one wants so much more, that men and women still have to work for their clothing.

The law that men must work for their living at first seems severe. Is it not, however, a kindly law? Thus on the playground, those who join in the play not only are stronger, but surely enjoy more than those who only look on and watch the others. The physicians tell us that this is the law of health.

Labor and wages. — If any large group of people, the iron founders, for instance, stop working, the supply of iron for the Nation is cut down at once. Every one presently suffers. On the contrary, the larger the number of

the workers is, the more regularly they work, the more they accomplish, and the fewer the drones in the hive, the greater is the product, and the more on the whole every one has; wages therefore tend to rise. It is the same with a nation as it is with a farmer's household. If all his children work they have produce to sell and grow prosperous. Why are wages higher in the United States than in Europe? It is because our product is greater.

Labor and wealth. — Moreover, besides the increase of men's needs and wants, there is a constant increase in the number of the population, requiring new lands to be opened, new houses to be built, and new mills to saw lumber or weave cloth. If all the wealth of the richest nation were divided equally, it would last but a short time before men would have to go to work to make more wealth. The richest nation is only in the condition of a farmer who has on hand a rather better supply of tools, stock, and farm buildings than his neighbor. But because he has this better supply, more care is required to keep it in order, and more labor is needed to use it. Thus, though the richer farmer lives better than his slovenly neighbor, he must still work equally hard or even harder, like the winning crew in a race.

A common fallacy. — It is sometimes imagined that it would be better for those who work if their numbers could be restricted. They fancy that they could then have better pay. Or it is thought that the workmen would be better off if they worked fewer hours a day. There are exceptional cases where this seems true for a while. Our point here is that the fewer the laborers are and the less they work, the less must be the production of the Nation.

If only half as many men make shoes, there will be fewer shoes for all. If ten million men work, and five million are idle, the latter will have to be fed by the others, with less food to go around. In short, the more intelligent and industrious the workmen are and the greater the number who are employed, the greater the product is which all at last share.

The reduction of the hours of labor. — On the other hand, there is a limit beyond which men do not work efficiently. They will not work to advantage if wearied, oppressed, or discontented. Free men will do more work in eight hours, putting their good will or interest into their work, than in ten or twelve hours of slavish labor. Of course there are times, as in the harvest, when men must rush things and rest afterwards.

The general duty of labor. — It follows that every one must contribute his share somehow toward the sum of the product of the Nation. For if anyone only eats and drinks and enjoys, but does not labor, he makes the Nation poorer. To work is not merely a necessity, it is an honorable obligation. That a man is rich gives him no right to consume or lessen the wealth of the Nation. On the contrary, his wealth, like the richer farmer's tools and stock, is an added reason why he should do a larger share for the good of all.

Different kinds of laborers. — The word *laborer* properly covers all kinds of service in behalf of the household or the community. In the larger sense not only the miner, the stevedore, the farmer, or the blacksmith, but also the clerk, the bookkeeper, the teacher, the superintendent of the mill, the president of the bank, the trustees of property, are laborers or workmen. Socrates

the philosopher, and Tennyson the poet, Macaulay the historian, and Darwin the naturalist, all have each added in his way to the resources of mankind. Even a child who shows an obliging temper makes the work of older people easier, like the oiler who keeps the machinery running.

Disturbances in industry. — It is impossible to divide the labor of the Nation exactly, so that each shall do his fair share. Some are more willing or more capable than others. Some are quicker in finding their proper places. Some like to work and others do not. If any part of the body fails to take its share of the burden, strain comes upon the rest. Moreover, if the body is exposed to sudden change, the circulation is checked and one suffers a chill. So, in a great industrial society, any sudden change of conditions is likely to cause disturbance. Thus there are frequent changes in the demands for labor. There may be a sudden need of wheat, or of boots and shoes, and many will start wheat-farms, or go into the shoe shops, till presently there is more wheat or there are more boots and shoes than are called for at once. Every invention or improvement, however beneficial in the long run, is apt for a time to cause disturbance and inconvenience. Thus, if the farmer buys a reaping-machine, he will not need to hire so many men, who may not at first find a new employment. The use of steam has multiplied the power of the world, but it has also caused disturbance to the old-fashioned industries worked by hand.

The requirements of commerce also vary. A scarcity of food in Europe may force a demand on the American food supply, or the change of a foreign tariff may shut out our goods from the use of millions of people.

There may be too many men trying to get a living in the cities, where expenses are greater than in the country. Or there may be more lawyers or architects than the Nation now needs, and the extra lawyers must find something else to do. This irregularity in employment causes inconvenience and trouble and often serious suffering.

Business crises. — It is said that "there are tides in the affairs of men." So business and work have their high and low tides. This is partly because men have not yet learned to see far enough ahead to provide the exact amount of wheat, iron, and other materials that they need. There are not likely to be too many people to work, but there may be too many workers in certain industries and too few in others. The law of supply and demand acts in such cases to cut down profits and wages, and to turn men from employments where they are less needed to those where they are more needed. Meanwhile, during the process of change, work stops, men are thrown out of employment, less wealth is created, business becomes dull, merchants fail, the mills which are not well managed go into bankruptcy, and new enterprises are checked. Thus, whenever men work blindly in any direction, a period of reaction is likely to set in till the balance is readjusted; as when one uses certain muscles to exhaustion those muscles must be rested and other muscles brought into play.

The free system. — Whenever men are free to get a living or to pursue wealth as each chooses, the usual result is *competition*. Competition really means *free industry*. Thus, one may choose his trade or profession, or if he does not like it, he may change. He is free to work hard or not; he may make his own bargains and

set his price upon the value of his labor or his products. He is free to acquire property to any extent, or to part with it. He is free to invest his money wherever he thinks that it will bring him the largest return, in the land or on the sea; or to hoard it, if he can afford to be so foolish. If anyone by working harder, or by his skill, or by intelligence, can make better wages than his neighbor, he is free to live better or he can live simply without working so hard. His neighbor is free to follow his example and to learn to excel him in turn. If one has genius, as Rothschild had, for handling and managing money, he is free to exercise this genius, as another is free to handle his tools.

The law of free industry. — Anyone is free to work when and where he chooses and at such terms as he can make for himself, provided he does not interfere with other men's rights. He is not free to snatch what belongs to them, or, being stronger, to push them aside, or trip them up, or hinder their freedom. He must not interfere with them by force, nor oppress them by fraud, or by getting laws passed to the disadvantage of others; the rule of the playground that all the boys are free to play as they like, only so as not to interfere with each other, holds good for industry.

The good side of freedom. — The freer men are to choose their work and to use and enjoy its results, the more work they are willing and happy to do. Their energy and enterprise are called out, their wits are sharpened, their hopes are stirred. At its best work becomes like play, an exercise of skill and power. If anyone wins unusual success, others are encouraged to try the better methods. If anyone enjoys his money, his

neighbors are urged to work harder, that they and their children may have the same enjoyment. Thus every one accomplishes more work in a condition of freedom, and the Nation is richer than if bad customs, like slavery and caste, or hard and fast rules fetter and restrict men and compel them to work. Do not children enjoy their sports better when left to themselves, than they do when the teacher meddles and makes rules for them?

Wherever men are really free to work, to earn, and to save or use their earnings as they please, the capable, the industrious, the temperate, and the intelligent tend to rise to prosperity. A considerable and increasing class become "capitalists" by the value of their houses or shops, or the amount of money in the bank. The skillful are always in demand, and generally at good wages.

The moral side. — Moreover, when men labor, earn, and save or spend with freedom, they develop patience, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, venturesomeness, integrity, respect for others' rights, generosity. The slaves of the kindest master could not develop these qualities. If a committee or government of the wisest men could manage and make rules for the rest, and provide for every one's necessities, men would not learn the sterling qualities of manhood so well as by being thrown upon their own resources. In fact, the strongest characters have been worked out through patient effort amid difficult circumstances.

Certain evils of the free system. — If some are free to work hard and earn more, others must be free to work less and earn little; as, if boys race, some will come in behind. What if they become jealous and suspicious of the more successful ones, and, instead of trying again

and doing better, grow discontented and sulky? But the worst trouble is that the energetic and fortunate people too frequently grow hard, proud, and selfish. Sometimes they are the beneficiaries of privileges and monopolies which they fear to lose. Even in a free land the laws do not secure complete freedom. No man is quite free as long as he is dependent upon another man, his employer, to secure work and a living for his family.

The men at the bottom. — We have learned in ordinary times to feed and clothe the population. We do not mean to let anyone starve in the face of plenty. But the risk of occasional suffering still remains, especially among the unskillful and the newcomers who cannot speak our language. They cannot find employment as fast as they come to the country; they accept work for a meager pittance; the wages of others are kept down. This is because men are free to seek a living where they please, but not free enough to get away at once from where they are not needed to another place where their services would be in demand. If they were not free to come and go, fewer could crowd into the city. But if men choose to be free, they must sometimes bear the consequences of their freedom. Would any system work well if the people remained ignorant and careless?

Two kinds of competition. — There are two kinds of competition. One is that of brutes that struggle with each other. So there are brutal or thoughtless men, who try to get as much as they can for themselves by pushing and crowding the others. They seek, like robber barons, to make their living at the expense, or by the loss, or out of the labor, of others. We have plenty of

laws to restrain oppression and fraud, but good laws are of no use unless the people are behind them. Better than laws is a new public opinion against men who seek to live by getting away the property of others. The boys and girls in our schools can help in making this new public opinion.

The competition of men: emulation. — The competition of brutes is to get away what the others possess. The competition of men is to do more and better work; it is to economize material and power; it is to add to the sum of human wealth and enjoyment. In the competition of men every one in the end becomes better off; some excel, while the level is raised and the opportunities of all are enlarged. The object of intelligent men now is not to snatch the food from the table, but to heap the table with larger and more varied supplies.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE GRIEVANCES OF THE POOR

Two extremes in society. — The condition of mankind in barbarous times was that of constant peril from disease and famine. Men frequently did not know where their bread would come from. Our present civilization has not yet raised all men above the chronic dangers in which our forefathers lived. There are many, especially in the cities, whose meager wages barely keep them from actual want. They cannot always get work. Frequently their wages are cut down, or they are thrown suddenly out of employment.

There are thus two extremes in society — those who live in luxury and have more than they need or deserve, and others whose toil seems hopeless. Justice and humanity alike raise the question, how this unequal distribution of wealth can be kept from working cruelty.

Social discontent. — In most industrial countries many people are bitterly discontented about these things. These are the *socialists*; they believe that something must be wrong in a community which allows a few to grow rich while many remain in abject want.

The discontented are divided into various classes. Some of them have suffered so cruelly from bad government, as in Russia, that they favor revolution. Some, the *anarchists*, do not believe in governments with armies and police to enforce laws, but think that men would behave better if they were free of the control of the State.

Some go to the opposite extreme, and believe that the government should own all the capital, and furnish every one with work and supplies. Others think it a great abuse that individuals can own all the land and make others pay rent for it. They would have the land so held by the community that no one could have land which he did not use. Every one should then pay a fair rent to the government, that is, to all the people, to be expended for the benefit of all. Some people wish to fix the tax system (the single tax) so that every one can enjoy only as much land as he would actually use; for this use he should pay rent to the State.

Many also claim that the government should own the railroads, the telegraph, the gas and water-works, and perhaps also the mines and factories, and other property, now worked by great companies. The government could then furnish employment to laborers with just wages and fair hours of work.

In general, whoever wishes to add to the kinds of wealth which the people own together is so far a socialist. In a free and civilized country most men are partly socialists, inasmuch as they favor common schools, parks, public buildings, sewage, water-works, and the post office, and, in fact, a common government.

The men and the system. — One cause of men's poverty and distress lies in the fact that the people who make up society are still very imperfect. The body cannot be sound and well unless the parts are sound.

The inefficient. — There is everywhere a class of ne'er-do-well people, feeble in body or mind, and lacking in energy or skill. Their misfortune is not so much that they are poor, as that they lack health and

energy. If many of a people are inefficient, as in certain tribes of savages, the whole community must be poor.

The ignorant. — What if a large proportion of people are ignorant? The ignorant not only cannot earn or produce as much as the intelligent, but they also waste food, fuel, money, and life itself in a thousand ways. If an ignorant people or a single ignorant household were given the best arrangements possible, they would not prosper.

The idle. — How many idle or lazy people do we know, who do not care to study or read, or even to play, who prefer to watch others play, who do not desire to work? The more of these there are, the harder must others work. However excellent our social arrangements were, the idle people would drag upon us. Their needs now urge them to work at least part of the time. Should we use the arm of the law and compel them to work, or should we let them live on the community? Neither course would be good for them or make them happy.

The unfortunate. — There are many who, without being imbecile or inefficient, are rendered helpless through sickness, accidents, losses, and the death of friends. Among these are widows and orphans who may be permanently unable to earn their living. All these lower the average of the prosperity of the community. Others must cheerfully work the harder in order to make good for their misfortunes. No mere change in the arrangement of property will remove this class. But we can largely reduce their number by preventing and removing the causes of accidents and diseases.

The vicious. — Besides the cost of prisons and police, the labor of the community has to bear the constant burden of the vices which waste property, destroy health, and ruin character. Drunkenness alone has hitherto been the cause of a large proportion of the poverty.

On the other hand, vice, and especially drunkenness and idleness, prevail wherever there is injustice or oppression; no one behaves at his best unless he believes in the fairness of his government, his employer, his teacher.

A problem. — We who make up human society are more or less imperfect, more or less educated, more or less successful or happy. How can any social plan work well till we, the individuals, are better? How can a crew win a prize in the best of boats, unless the rowers are strong and skillful? Can we contrive any improvement by which all can possess and enjoy more?

The objects of society. — One object is material, that is, an abundant supply of all sorts of products. Does anyone think we have a sufficient supply now? Suppose we have enough now to give an average of three dollars a day for each person? How can we all have more? One way is to contrive to produce more, either by working harder, or by better management, or (what comes to the same thing) by good care not to waste our dollars when we get them.

Justice. — We organize and make laws to secure as much justice as possible. Can we ever get perfect justice? Should we be content if we got it? Who knows that his father or his employer gives him his exact dues? Suppose a boy thinks his lesson worth more than the teacher marked him. Suppose a man

values his work too much, Can we ever make such men contented? Can society, that is, all of us together, do this better than teachers or parents do it? Some now have more and others less than they deserve. Should we prefer to share alike, without asking how much anyone did? Is any man, or any number of men, wise and good enough to award perfect justice?

Suppose now that every one who wants justice tries to do it; the parents try and the children try too; the teacher tries, and the pupils; the employers and the employed people try; in all our dealings every one tries hard to do justice to every other. Who would not choose to do justice, and a little more, now and then, and possibly be willing to suffer an injustice once in a while, rather than to try so hard to get justice for ourselves as sometimes to do injustice to others?

Freedom and manhood. — The greatest object to be gained by human society is manhood or character. Give us men and women who think for themselves, unafraid of what others say or do, with plenty of hearty good will and sympathy for each other. Find us some new system to increase our supplies if you can, but unless it will also make our people more energetic, capable, generous, and high-minded, we will not accept it.

Faith or trust in men. — Human society is bound together by confidence. We trust, on the whole, that our fellow-men will do right; they and we are more alike than we are different. We trust, if we show them what is wrong, that they will be fair and correct it for us, as we would do for them. If men cannot be trusted in the long run to do right, no laws or systems can be

trusted. For men make and enforce the laws. But if men can be trusted, the fewer laws we make to compel them, the better they behave. Who of us likes to be forced to do right? Who of us is not pleased to be trusted? Society ought to be like the model school, where rules are least needed.

Summary. — However much we desire to cure injustice, or to bring relief to the poor, we must preserve freedom. We must get justice by doing it; we cannot cure one kind of injustice by doing another. If we knew that some one had more wealth than he deserved, would this make it right for us to appropriate his wealth?

It is probable that the permanent common wealth will largely increase, at least in the form of school-houses, hospitals, museums, public grounds, and buildings. No one can foresee sufficiently to be sure that various services, now performed by great corporations of individuals, may not sometime be advantageously performed by the whole body of the people.

The fact is, when all are faithful and honest enough to be trusted to act fairly as individuals, all can then be trusted to act justly together. Neither can all act together, doing each other no injustice, unless the individuals first learn to be just; as the boys of a club cannot play well together till its members are each willing to do their share of the work, free of jealousy, and happy to see each other succeed.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE ABUSES AND THE DUTIES OF WEALTH

The significance of property. — Property gives its possessor a lien more or less on the produce of the world. Besides the share which his work or skill buys, he is also entitled to an extra share representing his property. He may even do nothing, and yet draw from the world an income equal to the value of the labor of hundreds of men. It is as if the world carried a mortgage upon its shoulders. If one thinks of the products of the world as put into a vast pile, a certain part of the pile must be given to the owners of property. On the other hand, is not the pile larger on account of the property which has been used as capital? The owners of property have furnished the necessary tools, machinery, and materials. The property-owners have often made the tools by their skill, or invented the machinery, or gathered the material by their frugality. So far as this has been the case, no one grudges them their larger share in the products. Nor is anyone poorer because they have more.

The rich. — A few rich men in a community often possess a disproportionate share of the property. This is true on a small scale in a fishing village or among farmers. It is partly on account of good fortune, by which one man out of a hundred finds the school of fish or the nugget of gold. It is partly the result of training and character, since few know how, or care,

to manage and keep their property. It is partly also because property, like a snowball, after it has been rolled up to a certain size, tends to grow bigger and bigger.

Besides those who are rich through the ownership of property, such as houses and lands, there is a considerable class of people who are rich through the incomes which genius, special ability, or skill enables them to draw. The voice of a great singer, the acumen of a great lawyer, the insight of a physician, or the rare administrative ability of a railroad superintendent brings the same sort of exceptional income as the possession of visible property, and gives its possessor "money power." Rare skill or genius, like good fortune, is a natural inequality, making one man to differ from another. We find such differences in a school or family. They make life interesting. But we do not always love or value most those who possess exceptional ability.

The rich who do no service. — The custom of mankind has not only allowed men to enjoy the advantage of their fortune or exceptional ability, but also to give their property to others, and especially to their children. Many are rich who have done no more service themselves for the enrichment of mankind than if they had not been born. Sometimes the law has let children inherit fortunes which the fathers had acquired by fraud. As long as we permit the good and deserving to grow rich, and to transmit their wealth to their children, the dishonest will sometimes do the same.

Different uses of wealth. — Suppose one of the children in a family takes better care of his toys than the

others, or is ingenious and makes playthings for himself, and so possesses more than the rest. The whole household has more resources than if he had less. So, if one can make the pile of the products of the world larger, every one else will be better off. Thus, if a millionaire lays out his income in building houses, although he may grow richer by the rent, the city also will be richer, and every one may have better and cheaper shelter. So if he builds a mill, gives work to a thousand men, and makes flour or cloth.

But suppose the rich man uses the power of his wealth to get away what others possess; suppose that he buys all the houses and charges higher rent; or suppose he and others with him own a railroad and refuse to take corn to market unless the farmer pays ruinous freight bills; or suppose rich men could buy all the water power and tax every one in the country for its use. Such conduct creates a *monopoly*.

Monopolies, good and bad. — It is a monopoly when one or a few hold and control the use of any valuable thing. But a monopoly is not always bad or unfair. Jenny Lind's voice was a sort of natural monopoly. It gave her the opportunity to become rich. The laws confer a monopoly upon an inventor or author. No one can use the invention or publish the book without paying the man who holds the patent or copyright. The laws even give the inventor the right to charge more than is fair, if he chooses to be so foolish. Many monopolies are plainly oppressive. If Robinson Crusoe had secured the only spring of water upon his island, and had refused to let new colonists have water without working for him, this would have been cruelty. So it

is when men buy up some article of universal necessity, like rice, coffee, or quinine, in order to get their own price out of others' pockets; or, again, when they get laws passed which compel us to use the product of their mines or their mills rather than goods made elsewhere.

The limit of monopolies. — The great moral laws which govern the world limit monopolies. If the monopoly is abused, it checks or kills itself. The great singer may ask too large a price; the author or the inventor may charge so much as to stop his sales. The railroad will not make so much money by high rates as by carrying more goods at fair rates; or, if its rates are exorbitant, another road may be built. The salt or the sugar must not cost too much, or people will send abroad to get their supplies. This holds true if the monopoly is not protected by force or by law. But if the laws make the monopoly, giving advantages to one or to the few, or to a class of nobles or rich men, the remedy lies in making the laws equal for all.

Land monopoly. — We have already said that land is like no other property; no man created it as men create houses and ships. Moreover, there is a limit to the land in a country, but there is no limit to the things that men create. Does it not seem as if the laws governing the holding of land ought to be quite different from the laws that control other property?

The holding of land is now especially subject to abuse. For instance, it sometimes happens in a city that one man or a few, owning land needed for building houses, hold it so as to keep it out of the market and arrest the growth of the city, or they ask an unreasonable price.

This makes a monopoly. The idle owners may finally lease their land for other men to use, and so draw a large income for themselves from the prosperity of the city.

So when men get control of great tracts of fertile land, or of timber, or of mines: the time comes when these men have a monopoly, and can demand their own price for the land. This price has to come out of other men's pockets. For the men who hold the land monopoly do not add to the wealth of the world, or confer any benefit by holding their property out of the market.

The cure of land monopolies. — The laws may be made either to encourage monopolists of land or to discourage them. It rests largely with the assessors of taxes to see that the men who hold more land than they use, hoping to make money by keeping it, shall pay as much into the treasury as if the land were sold to put buildings upon it or to cultivate it.

The rivalry of the rich. — Kings used to be foolish enough to fight with each other to extend their domain; so rich men sometimes ruin each other's property in the hope of winning more at others' loss. Fortunes sometimes change hands on Wall Street as at a gambling-table. Men contrive to injure the trade or the business of their rivals, to make it unprofitable to run their mills, and to drive them into bankruptcy. This sort of struggle does not make the pile of the product of the world larger, but lessens the general wealth and produces hardship as in time of war.

Waste by the rich. — A great fortune may be like a reservoir in which the water is stored to irrigate the fields. But suppose the man uses his income for his

own indulgence, for his whims and fancies, like the famous mad king of Bavaria. Suppose he spends it in costly banquets, or locks it up in private pleasure-grounds. Even so he cannot spend without giving some of his money back, through the goods he pays for and the men whom he hires. Nevertheless, his waste and extravagance become a public loss. For while the investments of income in new buildings or railroads cheapen prices and rents, the expense for extra service and luxuries makes prices higher. The evils of gigantic wealth might be such that the community would be forced to erect some limit or safeguard against the abuse of money — as we have to do when a man wastes his earnings and starves his children.

Capitalists. — The poor man begins to be rich as soon as he has acquired any kind of property, as tools or land, or more than he needs to use at once for himself. He then becomes a capitalist. He may be an owner of shares in the great railroad for which he works. The bank or railroad in which he is an owner may possess more property than any man in the State. Like the rich man's fortune, so the company composed of many little capitalists is a reservoir for accumulating and using money. It has also some of the same dangers of wasting its resources, or of using its power to fight with others, or of making monopolies, or even of controlling legislation. It is not, therefore, the rich who are to be feared so much as wasteful, reckless, or unscrupulous men, whether they have much or little.

The duties of wealth. — The possession of wealth is not merely a legal right which certain ones enjoy, or a luxury of which a few accidentally may have more than

their share. Wealth imposes certain duties upon its possessor.

Trusteeship. — There are in the United States thousands of millionaires, holding the titles to a large proportion of the land, banks, railroads, mines, and factories. Their actual or personal services to the community cannot generally have been worth as much money as they possess. They may, therefore, justly be considered as so many trustees, having for the time the care and management of the accumulation of the wealth of the whole community. This great fund, as we have seen, is partly the product of human labor and thought, and partly the bounty of nature. It is morally sacred for purposes of good. The fact that this obligation is not legal, but moral, makes it more honorable. The idea of trusteeship does not apply merely to millionaires. Every person is responsible for what he uses or spends.

So far as rich men acknowledge and act under this obligation of trusteeship, there may be little public injury in their acquiring and holding as much wealth as they please. Moreover, if anyone is a foolish or incapable trustee, the rule is that his wealth goes out of his hands, as power disappears from one who does not know how to use it.

Service. — Does the possession of property ever give anyone a right to lead a useless or idle life? On the contrary, the more one inherits or accumulates, the more he is bound to the universal duty of some kind of service in making the world better, richer, or happier. The more wealth one possesses, the meaner he is, like a selfish older brother in the household, if he does no good with his money, or if he becomes only a bigger drone

in the hive. Does anyone imagine that happiness is gained by being mean and grasping?

Sharing. — The trusteeship of property makes it shameful for any intelligent person to lavish luxuries upon himself. Shameful, too, is unnecessary exclusiveness, especially with regard to grounds, paintings, and works of art. What can we think of a man who fences off from the public a great forest, or appropriates for himself alone a tract of the seashore? How can a man forget the principles of honor and kindness which hold in every home and schoolroom? We let a child own his knife or football and make him responsible for it, but we expect him willingly to share its use with the others and not to lock it up for his own pleasure. We do not need laws for this purpose; our public opinion makes the law.

Public munificence. — It was the custom of the Athenians to expect their richer men to undertake certain special kinds of public expense, as the fitting out of a trireme, or the cost of a festival. So in our times we expect no rich man to live and die without public benefactions. It is not merely generosity to give; it is the return of a debt. Much of the accumulated wealth of the world has arisen from the toil and effort of the men of the past, from whom we all inherit property, ideas, and inventions. Are we not bound to keep good what we have inherited, in special provision for the future — for public works and buildings, for schools and colleges, for art and music? The more property one has, the larger is his debt to the past for the sake of the future. Should we not be ashamed if our generation left the world poorer than it had been before we were born?

The ideal city.—What kind of town would you like best to live in? Not one where every one has precisely the same income as every one else; this would not be just. Not where the State holds everything and each individual must obey the rules of a great Central Bureau at the capital. Will not the largest prosperity come where the laws give free scope to the skill and energy of the people in the creation of wealth; where no hurdles are put in the way of those who are willing to work; where least money is wasted and squandered; where every one is respected for his worth as a man; where citizens are accustomed to work happily together; where the wealth which all help to earn flows naturally to those who show most industry, good sense, integrity, and capacity in making and using it? In such conditions, the wiser and more able people, being also friendly and considerate, no one could fall into grievous poverty, and no man could use his wealth for oppression. Thus, the free system of acquiring and holding wealth works out justice and happiness, as fast as individuals learn the democratic idea — to respect one another and to do to others as they wish others to do to them. But unless there are plenty of such fair-minded and democratic citizens, there can be no happiness or prosperity enforced by rules, whether made by a sovereign, like the German Emperor, or by the majority of a republic.

CHAPTER XXXVI

BUYERS AND SELLERS; OR, THE MUTUAL BENEFIT

THERE are two theories of the conduct of business. One theory is that each party in trade aims to get an advantage over his neighbor: one should try to get as much and give as little as possible. If goods are defective, the seller should conceal the fact. The only rights which this theory of business recognizes are legal rights. One must not overreach far enough to come within the penalties of the law. Otherwise, so far as the law does not prescribe, the other party to a bargain must look out for himself.

The notion underlying this theory of business is that whatever one makes, the other loses. As in gambling, the gain of the winner means that others must lose, so in business it is sometimes supposed that the successful merchant grows rich at the expense of his neighbors. Business is thus only a game in which every one is trying to win other people's money. The laws are the rules of the game.

The idea of business. — The fact is that buyers and sellers perform a mutual service not only to each other, but for the benefit of the public. Mercantile business is not a game, but an industry, like farming or manufacturing. The merchant increases the value of goods by bringing them to market. He therefore deserves wages or salary for the service which he renders in col-

lecting and distributing his goods. He receives his wages in the form of the surplus of his sales over their cost. The larger his sales and the greater his skill,—that is, the more valuable his services,—the greater his income deserves to be. The law of supply and demand regulates this. The income of merchants is not, however, uniform. Sometimes it is less than the equivalent of the work and cost which they have spent, and sometimes it is much more. It involves risk and forethought and attention to numerous details. In the long run, the merchant's income is nearly the same as equal labor, skill, and experience would produce in any other industry.

It follows that what the merchant honestly makes is not at anyone's expense or loss. The wheat gathered in the warehouses is actually worth more than when in the farmers' granaries. Neither the farmer, therefore, nor anyone else has lost by the merchant's fair profit in the purchase and sale of the wheat. So with other products.

The rights of buyers and sellers.—The earliest kind of trade was barter. In barter each party was both buyer and seller. In fair barter each shared the advantage of the exchange; for example, a pack of skins was exchanged for a sack of wheat. So in modern trade, which is only a more complicated kind of barter. In a fair sale the buyer and seller divide the value of a mutual advantage between them; each, therefore, ought to be better off than before. If a dealer, as a rule, got for himself the whole advantage of his bargains, it would be the same as getting what did not belong to him. In fact, business could not go on in this way. In the

long run the advantage must be mutual in men's bargains.

It follows that overreaching, even though the laws do not specify it, is an attempt to get what belongs to another. The sale of goods which are defective or below the standard — the adulteration of food or the watering of milk — is not trade, but an attempt to get what belongs to others. So, too, if purchasers seek to beat prices down to less than the cost of goods, they try to get what belongs to others, and they tempt men to cheat them.

Is honesty the best policy? — It is not only just that buyers and sellers shall share in the mutual advantage of their bargains, it is also for their interest. This is the meaning of the proverb, "*Honesty is the best policy.*" Business is best when every class gets full pay for its services. If the farmers do not get their share of the proceeds of their labor, they will have less money to spend and in the end the merchants will feel the loss in the slackening of their business. Men who have been cheated in a trade cannot so well afford to trade again; on the other hand, men appreciate just treatment and tend to treat the other man likewise. In a community where men aim to share generously, values increase and there is more wealth to share. Better yet, it is a pleasure to be sure that the other man with whom we deal is satisfied.

Legitimate business. — It follows that only those kinds of business are righteous which result in benefit to the public. Who wants to engage in a business which does no good, or which results in harm and loss to the community?

The law of supply and demand, or competition in buying and selling.—We can imagine all the cattle of the country to be in the hands of a few families, who have cattle and nothing else. They must therefore have wheat and other supplies from the farmers. They begin by exchanging with the nearest farmer at his own price, which gives him a large profit. A second farmer presently appears and offers his wheat for less; and the first farmer, rather than not sell, reduces his price. Thus, after a time, by competition, the farmers fix a price as low as they can afford. Thereafter the exchange of cattle and wheat regulates itself according to the plenty or scarcity of the one product and the other. If the cattle men have a good year, they can afford to furnish cattle at a lower price; if wheat is scarce, it must be dearer.

In some such way as this the prices of all sorts of things are fixed. The more valuable or the rarer a thing is—in other words, the more work it costs to obtain it—the higher its price. A great demand for any article sets many fresh hands at work to supply it, and it presently becomes plentiful; or, if the demand falls, the price is lowered accordingly. Thus, iron was once scarce and costly, till men learned to produce it on a great scale; then, all sorts of ironware became cheap. There was once immense profit in trading with China and India; there were also great risks. Now the merchants make so small profits in tea and indigo that it hardly pays any better to build ships for the Eastern trade than to build houses at home.

Selling in “the dearest market.”—Suppose that a farmer raises fruit and vegetables, which few of his

country neighbors care to buy. A few miles away, in the town, many people need his products. Their demand, being active, allows the farmer a good price. This is because he brings his fruits where they are most wanted. If he sends his goods to a great city, and furnishes superior fruit to persons who demand the best, he will receive still better prices. The "dearest market" is wherever the demand or need is greatest. Whoever takes the pains to meet such a demand will be well paid. The dearest market also is usually, though not always, where people can afford to pay a higher price. Thus, the dearest market for the farmer and fisherman is in the city, where most of the money is. It is of mutual advantage to buyer and seller when goods are brought to the dearest markets. By and by competition will bring the prices down so that every one can have enough at reasonable cost.

Buying in the cheapest market.—The cheapest market is where the supply is most abundant. The cheapest market for fish is on the shore where fishing-boats come in. Here is the place to buy to best advantage. The place to buy clothing most cheaply is in the great shop where clothing is piled on the shelves. Whoever will buy where goods are abundant and therefore cheap, accommodates the seller, who wants money for his goods. Thus, every one gains when purchasers buy in the cheapest market. If, however, too many purchasers crowd into the cheap market so that the goods become scarce, it is fair to all to raise the prices. In this case those buy the goods who need them or care most for them; but those who can get along without them do not buy, or they purchase something else, or they seek

a cheaper, that is, more plentiful, market. Meanwhile, as soon as prices rise, men set to work to provide a cheaper market again; in other words, to furnish a fresh and larger supply.

Freedom in trade. — In barbarous times it was so perilous and costly to travel, and roads were so bad, and transportation of goods was so risky on account of pirates and shipwrecks, that men often starved within a few miles of a cheap market. For many centuries troublesome tolls were collected of merchants, and customhouses stood on the border of every little State, so that men could not afford to bring their supplies to the markets. For want of free trade there was poverty and suffering, as when tight cords restrict the flow of blood to the limbs.

Civilization cuts the cords and gives the body freedom to act. It makes free turnpikes and bridges; it unites little states into nations and removes the barriers between them; it builds great lines of railway. In the United States there is perfect freedom of trade among the States and Territories. When, therefore, the crops fail in one section, supplies flow freely in from other quarters to meet the demand. Famine, the scourge of ancient times, is rendered almost impossible, except in time of prolonged war. The farmer in Dakota, with his great wheatfields, is brought close to the needy markets of New England. This is because every one in the Nation is free to buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest.

Freedom in trade; what harm it may do. — While freedom in trade works well on the whole, it sometimes does harm, just as laws which work well for the

many may seem to do injustice to individuals. Thus, it is good for the Nation that we can buy corn in the cheapest market, which is in the West; but this at first was hard for the Eastern farmer, who could not raise corn so cheaply. It is good, on the whole, that the Vermont farmer can sell his eggs and chickens in the dearest market, which is Boston or New York, but this makes eggs and chickens dearer for the people in Vermont. We know that when there is demand in the brain for nourishing blood, it is drawn away for a time from the extremities.

The two sides. — Competition in trade may be selfish and cruel, if a neighbor outbids another or undersells him, on purpose to get rid of him and to control his business; or if a great firm seeks to crush its rivals. When there is a great snow blockade, cutting off a city from its supplies, it is selfish and cruel if the milkmen exact extortionate prices because of the needs of suffering children.

But competition or freedom of trade need not be selfish. A class of boys may aim each to get the most perfect mark of excellence; so every man who sells, if he be honorable and high-minded, may aim at furnishing the best quality of articles on the most favorable terms which he can afford; so purchasers may, and sometimes do, scorn to exact unreasonable advantage from the necessities of the seller. There is no need, because a man carries on business, to forget that he deals with men like himself. If the laws allow meanness and extortion, enlightened public opinion, not to speak of religion, calls the louder for humanity and friendliness, and brands as shameful the competition which forgets the *man* in the bargain.

Paying one's debts. — Men are debtors and creditors in turn, according as they owe money to others or others owe them. If, now, a man's debtors put off payment or do not pay at all, there will be difficulty in his paying his creditors as he has promised, and again, in their paying others. As the failure of any link in the chain weakens the whole, so whenever a promise is broken there will be suffering and loss. If many do not pay, money will be hard to obtain, and business in general will suffer; whereas prompt payment by one gives the means of payment along a whole line of men. The money which before failed to circulate, moves on freely and makes more business, as well as the means of happiness, every time it is promptly paid.

Bankruptcy. — It often happens that merchants and others fail to pay their obligations. No one then will trust them longer, and they may have to stop their business. This is a hardship not only to them, but also to others who depend upon them — their employees, as well as those who have been giving them credit. The greatest suffering often falls on those who are turned out of employment.

Bankruptcy sometimes happens through the failure of others; but most often it comes about through the extravagance, the folly, the unskillfulness, and even the fraud of those who have charge of the business.

Bankruptcy laws. — When men fail to pay their debts, there are often many creditors, all of whom ought fairly to share in the assets or property of the debtor, so far as he has anything left. It may be that the debtor, if the creditors will agree to give him time to settle his affairs, will contrive to pay them more than if they

seized and divided his property at once. It may be fair, too, if the debtor honestly gives up all that he has, for his creditors to release him from further payment and leave him free to go on in business, provided he can find merchants to trust him again. Bankruptcy laws provide through the proper courts for the protection of the interests of both debtors and creditors. Whereas once a debtor could be cruelly imprisoned by a hard-hearted creditor, the debtor is now given a fair opportunity to make up his losses.

Sometimes creditors live in different States. The Constitution of the United States gives to Congress the power to make bankruptcy laws for the Nation and so to treat creditors in a distant State as fairly as if they lived where the failure took place.

As men abuse other laws, so the dishonorable sometimes use the bankruptcy laws to wrong their creditors and to secure a release for themselves without giving up their property. On the other hand, men of honor sometimes do more than the law requires, and after being released from their creditors, insist, as soon as they are able, upon paying the full amount of their debts. If every one carried on business in this way there would be few failures.

CHAPTER XXXVII

EMPLOYERS AND THE EMPLOYED: THEIR INTEREST IN EACH OTHER

ALL men are either employers of labor or employees. Most men are at the same time both employers and laborers.

The rights of employers; fidelity. — Fidelity is to do another's work, or the public work, as well as possible, or as well as if it were one's own. The truth is, that the workman sells something, namely, his work, whether of his hands or his brain; and, like everything else sold, he wishes it to be of standard quality. Is the duty of faithful service lessened if the employer pays insufficient wages or salary? No. An honest man can never do less than honest work; nor is the service merely for the employer; the whole community is poorer for every wasted hour or blundering piece of work. Worse yet, the man who performs unfaithful service has become degraded and demoralized. Fidelity includes honesty, sobriety, and punctuality. Courtesy and kindly manners are also due to the employer, as they are due to every one. How can we keep friendly relations with others if we are rude and uncivil?

The rights of employees; wages or salary. — Whoever sells his work or skill is entitled to its fair price no less than if it were corn or cloth. Fair pay is not only a righteous amount, but it includes punctuality in payment. Fair pay means reasonable and humane hours of work and vacation or holiday time. We are learning

that the rule of humanity is the rule of effectiveness. Every one can do more and better work if he is treated kindly.

Respect. — The employer has not discharged his duty in paying a man; he owes him also courtesy and friendly respect. How can he forget that the other is a man like himself?

Honest management. — Employees are not only entitled to fair wages; in a certain sense they are partners with the employers. If the management must keep clear of speculative hazards which risk the capital of the stockholders, so it must not imperil the employment of its workmen. Loyal employees are the greatest asset of an enterprise. The management needs to keep them together, and to find work for them in dull times.

The labor market. — In one view, labor, like everything valuable, is subject to the law of supply and demand. The men who have their labor to sell will bring it to the dearest market, that is, wherever labor is most needed. It will there get the best pay. On the other hand, those who wish to hire labor will go to the cheapest market; that is, where labor is plentiful. Thus, if a company wish to build a factory, they will consider where they can get workmen to the best advantage. They could not build their factory in Alaska so well as in Ohio, because the latter State is a better market for labor. Meanwhile, wherever they build their factory, workmen will flock there. It is of advantage to both employers and the employed to buy labor in the cheapest market and to sell it in the dearest. On the whole, work is thus distributed where it is most needed and where the best pay can be given it. If any considerable

number of workmen are getting small wages, an opportunity is afforded to get better wages wherever a larger demand is made for their help. Employment offices are now often provided by the State to help place men where they are most needed.

A difficulty : the human element.—Labor is not simply valuable as a commodity. It is human also. When corn is plenty, or inferior in quality, it is no great hardship if it brings a low price, or does not sell at all. But the workman must live; he may have a family dependent upon him; even if he is an inferior workman, he must still be housed and fed as a man. Moreover, the laborer cannot easily be transported, like corn or commodities, wherever the demand and the pay are greater. Many circumstances may render it costly or impossible for him to move to a place where his labor will be in demand.

Low wages ; the limit of decency.—While at times the number of workmen may be far greater than the demand, there is a limit below which it is not the custom to let wages fall. This limit is fixed by men's consideration of humanity. The more high-minded employers are, and the stronger public opinion is, the higher is this limit of wages to which a man's work entitles him, on the ground that he is a man. The labor unions have helped immensely to establish a public opinion which works toward better standards of living for all workers. Certain excellent laws protect them from overwork, forbid factory work for children, and seek to prevent employers from hiring people below a decent or sufficient wage. This is often called the *minimum* wage, and it means just enough to support the worker in health. Of course, this varies constantly.

Employees who cannot help themselves.—In years of good harvests and prosperity there is more money than usual to spend, and there is more employment in all industries for men able and willing to work. But bad years come when there is less to divide and to spend, and therefore less work is called for. The inferior or unskilled workmen are the first to suffer for want of employment. Moreover, the conditions of civilized life require costly tools and machinery: no civilized man can easily work alone, as the savage can; he needs the coöperation of others. A man cannot even till the soil without assistance or capital. The law of supply and demand works after a while to correct disorders of industry, and to set men again to work where they will be needed, but this law has to be supplemented by constant sympathy and humanity to prevent the helpless from suffering. For the whole body of the community is bound up with the welfare and prosperity, or the loss and misery, of any portion. If individuals, then, cannot provide employment for their neighbors who wish to find work, it may be the duty of the State or the city to provide public works, such as the conservation of forests and lands, the building of streets, and other improvements. We may hope that better education will also train a larger proportion of the children to such skill and faithfulness as will give them permanent employment at all times.

Employers who cannot help themselves.—We have seen that the number of workmen may sometimes be greater than can be employed; or business may be dull and unremunerative; or certain factories may have greater expenses in rent and interest than others, and

so cannot afford to pay sufficient wages to go on making their goods. Unless the employers are successful and can accumulate some capital, and keep their plant in good repair, they cannot weather the storms which sometimes threaten the financial and industrial world. The poorly managed shops and factories are often obliged to stop. This is not because employers are unwilling to keep their workmen, but because they have no money to pay them.

Industrial warfare; strikes and lockouts. — It sometimes happens that employers and employees disagree and quarrel. This may be on account of some foolish misunderstanding, or the bad and arrogant temper of one man. In some cases the men, who perhaps belong to a union, vote to quit work until their demands for better hours or an increase in wages are granted. This is called a *strike*. Like war, it means loss of time and money on both sides, and often great suffering to the workmen's families. It ought to be justified only by urgent necessity. It might, like war, almost always be prevented.

The employers may make war upon their workmen by shutting down their works and stopping wages till the men accede to their wishes. This is called a *lockout*. It results not only in hardships at the time, but, as in war, in the loss of good feeling afterwards.

Trade unions. — The world was never so full as it is now of all kinds of societies, associations, and clubs in which men and women coöperate for mutual enjoyment or the protection of their interests. Among the most important and powerful of these societies are the trade or labor unions. Thus, the printers, the tele-

raphers, and other skilled men form unions among themselves, and later various groups of trades join in a greater Federation of Labor. Meanwhile, groups of employers also form associations for their common interest. At last in many industries the fixing of prices, hours of work, and other conditions comes to be a process of bargaining between the representatives of the unions on the one side and of the employers on the other. The individual workman who might seek in vain by himself to secure fair treatment from a big corporation, now has the support of a great organization with experienced officers at their service and with money in their treasury. The trade unions are also friendly and benefit societies, pledged to help their members in times of sickness and unemployment.

The open and the closed shop. — Not all the men in a trade choose to belong to a union. There are various reasons why some prefer to remain outside. The rules for entrance sometimes prove to be a barrier against new men. For the men in a union are reluctant to admit members for whom they cannot see plenty of regular employment. In some cases they hold a certain monopoly of skill, and, like most monopolists, they do not like to be disturbed. There are also men who prefer to be free of the rather military discipline of the unions. Suppose the majority order a strike to which the minority object as unfair. Ought a faithful member of a union ever to act against his union? Some men doubtless think that they ought. But there are always men and women outside of any union. Some of them are poor or shiftless workmen. The non-unionists have to find places in "open shops," that is, where employers run

their business as they choose and prefer to have non-union help. They may pay less or even more than union wages. But they do not bargain with the unions. At the same time they may cheerfully employ members of unions, without asking the question whether a man belongs to the union or not.

On the other hand, the unions desire, whenever they become strong enough, to control the "help" of a mill or a mine, so as to have no workers in it except members of the unions. This makes the "closed shop." A non-union man cannot get work in it, unless he enters one of the unions. Sometimes the unions go so far as to forbid their men handling goods which have been manufactured in an open shop. The unions have sometimes imitated the unfriendly and autocratic methods which employers have too often used in dealing with their workmen or other employers. All such actions on one side or the other are like war. They lead to reprisals, retaliation, and violence, and they leave an ugly temper which spoils honest work and splits people of the same nation into hostile camps.

Arbitration. — When men differ, or even when they suffer injustice, there is a more sensible method than to fight. This better method is called *arbitration*. In arbitration both parties agree to submit their case to an impartial committee, or board, and to abide by its decision. In some cases each party chooses one member of the committee, and the two choose a third. Sometimes, as in Massachusetts, the State keeps a standing Board of Arbitration. In New Zealand the law provides the means of arbitration and requires employers and employees to settle their differences peaceably, without

compelling all the people in their town to suffer in their quarrel. As employers and their employees become more intelligent and humane, arbitration in some form may be expected to prevent the waste and ill-feeling always occasioned by strikes and lockouts. Quarreling is stupid business.

The interests of employers and the employed together.

— Of course, employers need nothing so much as thorough workmen. Even though they must be paid high wages, good workmen are the most economical, just as goods of standard quality are cheaper in the end than inferior goods. The employer with skilled and willing men may easily afford to pay the best wages and yet produce goods which will sell at a profit.

The success of the employer is generally to the interest of the workmen. His success means permanence in work, whereas the less successful shop will often have to be closed. His success means the ability to pay better wages, and to continue to pay them through dull seasons. The successful employer will have large capital and credit, and will be able to keep men employed even at times when he makes no profits himself. The employers and the employed ought not to pull apart, but to pull together. They are engaged in two sides of the same work.

Coöperation and profit-sharing. — Enterprises are often undertaken in which all who have part in the work share in the profits. This used to be done in the fisheries, where perhaps a group of neighbors owned and fitted out the vessel. It has been done in certain manufactories and on plantations. It has been done on a great scale in England (the Rochdale stores) and in

Belgium in the business of distributing goods, and in Denmark and Ireland among the farmers. The best form of all is that which gives the workers a vote in the conduct of the business and a voice also in the election of the managers. Why should not every business be a democracy in itself? Why should it not have directors to represent the workers as well as directors for the capital? If it is a business that serves the public like a railway system, why should it not have directors to represent the interests of the people who use the road? Why should there not be at suitable times free discussion of the subjects which concern those who work, and those who superintend, and the people whom the business serves? Let all sides understand each other and so learn to work together better.

All kinds of business, however, are really more co-operative than men think. For the payment of regular salaries and wages (which are apt to rise in good times, and fall in poor times) is simply a method of sharing the profits of business with those who are concerned in carrying it on. On the whole, a man's share depends upon how useful or necessary he is. Moreover, many great corporations, like the Pennsylvania Railroad, advance their wages according to the length of faithful service, and give pensions to aged workmen. It is often possible for employees to invest their savings in the shares of the company for which they work. Of course, however, those who share the profits of their work must also share the losses.

Men who have been the employees of others sometimes combine and establish a business or an industry of their own. The new enterprise, like any other cor-

poration, is then subject to the usual conditions of success, namely, the energy, prudence, and honesty of its managers.

Women's work and wages.—How about women's wages? Ought they to be the same as men's? We have seen that wages follow the law of supply and demand; but when they become very low, humanity interposes, and forbids paying less. As a rule, this limit to which wages fall is lower for women than for men. This is partly because of the survival of barbarous ideas as to the worth of women. It is partly because certain employments are beyond women's strength, while the number of women seeking work constantly increases. Many women who live at home are glad to earn a little money at wages lower than they could afford if they had wholly to support themselves. Employers who find willing hands at a dollar a day cannot easily pay more to other women, no more skillful, who need two dollars a day.

Moreover, the wages of women are allowed to be lower than in the case of men, even for the same work, on the ground that a man must have enough to support a family, while a woman more often has only herself to support. This custom frequently works hardship, but its service is to keep families together. Men's work, as a rule, is also for life; whereas when working women marry their work is apt to change to meet the calls of domestic life.

The industrial democracy.—We are used to the idea of a political democracy in which every man is a citizen, with the opportunity to fit himself for any service in the State. The industrial democracy, or the Common-

wealth of labor, is now coming into view. Here, too, we cannot have any servile class, but every man and his labor must bear the hall mark of worth. Every one is respected for his character and for the value of his contribution to the common product. The Commonwealth cannot afford to allow its families to live meanly. It proposes to give every child the education and the fair chance to make his way up to a useful and honorable place, to "make good" for all that he has cost, and to leave the world somewhat better off. In this Commonwealth human society is a grand order, like the human body, made up of millions of living cells. The interests of each are the interests of all, and all are partners. Friendliness is the rule and not the exception. Whoever makes human life richer, happier, or nobler belongs to this Commonwealth.

PART IV

SPECIAL SOCIAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NEIGHBORS

THE word *social* means friendly and helpful. We have seen that even in making money and in bargains it does not do to treat men as machines or as rivals; for, as the famous Roman emperor said, "We are made for coöperation, like feet, like hands, like eyelids." We have also seen with what good temper we must work together as fellow citizens in order to secure an orderly and prosperous State. On many sides of our lives, however, we meet men simply as neighbors. Certain special rights and duties follow from this neighborly relation.

The growth of the neighborly feeling. — The old idea used to be that members of the same tribe, caste, or class were bound to help each other; these alone were neighbors. Thus, Romans should help Romans, and Brahmins should help the poorer Brahmins, and noblemen should stand by each other; but Romans need not help Greeks, nor nobles spend their money in aiding peasants. The beautiful old story of "the good Samaritan" teaches that every one is our neighbor; this teaching has never been thoroughly believed. It is coming to be the creed of the world; it is the democratic creed; it means that we propose to treat men of every race and condition as neighbors.

The neighborly feeling has its rise in the family. We easily know how we ought to treat our elders, our guests, our brothers and sisters. In every good home we learn our duties toward younger members of the family, toward the feeble, the sick, or the dependent. The village is a greater family; so is the State. In a large way all mankind make a family together. The same rules and the good temper that work so well in the home work equally well wherever we meet men.

Our rights.—Of course we have certain plain social rights. We have a right to respect and courtesy from others as befits men. We have a right to be considered for what we are really worth. This right holds good whatever dress we wear, or however humble a station we occupy. As the poet Burns says, "A man's a man for a' that."

We have a very precious right to be treated as honest, to be trusted and not suspected. But what if we have thrown away this right by our misconduct or by falsehood?

Privacy.—We have a right to our privacy. There are personal matters which concern only ourselves or our most intimate friends. We object to having our private affairs made the subject of gossip or published in the newspapers. We have a right, therefore, to keep these things to ourselves, and not to be intruded upon by idle curiosity. As "every man's house is his castle," so every man's private life, his plans, thoughts, and feelings, his personal correspondence, and his conversation with his friends ought to be sacred from publicity.

It is a curious fact that we have no power to compel or enforce these plain rights for ourselves. We cannot

get them unless they are freely given to us. They are not like legal rights, such as the right to our liberty or to our property, for maintaining which we may need to ask the assistance of the government. Nor would they be of any use to us if we had to quarrel or go to law to obtain them; for respect unwillingly shown would not be sincere, and our private affairs would become public as soon as we carried them into court. How, then, shall we get the respect or confidence that people owe us? Our best way is not to insist upon such rights for ourselves at all, but simply to take pains to give freely to other people what we desire them to give us. How can others trust us if we begin by being suspicious and distrustful of them? If we violate their confidence by telling secrets, how can we expect them to respect our confidences?

What if people assume rights for themselves which do not belong to them? No one has a right, for example, on account of pride of family or of education, to claim peculiar respect, as though he were of finer clay than other men. We make ourselves a laughing stock if we expect others to take us, not at our worth, but on account of our belongings.

We have no right to anyone's intimacy or to be taken into another's confidence, or to be asked to visit him. We have no right to insist upon being taken into the employ of another.

We have no right to demand assistance from our neighbors. We may have a right to live, but we have no right to force others to help us live. Our neighbors indeed cannot easily help us if we force ourselves upon them. Our neighborly rights are only such as others

will freely allow us. It destroys neighborly feeling to insist upon our rights.

Neighborly duties. — We have, in most respects, to trust others to give us our rights. Our main business is with our duties.

Just judgment. — We meet each other in business, elect men to office, choose our friends, and every day we make judgments for or against each other. If we judge carelessly, or make up our minds on worthless evidence, we do injustice to our fellows and neighbors. We owe it, therefore, as we wish to be treated ourselves, to take care to judge and value every other person for what he is worth. Is it not better to err on the side of overvaluing rather than undervaluing others? It is bad enough if we misjudge others and think ill of them without saying anything. But what if we tell our harsh opinions to others and circulate idle suspicions? We then run the risk of damaging the other's reputation or credit or business. We may even make ourselves liable to a charge of libel before the courts. If we tell injurious stories, we must know and not guess. Ought we not to think whether our telling of such a story will do any good?

Respect as a humane duty. — What sort of respect are we bound as neighbors to give each other? Not only courteous behavior, but respectful feeling. This respect is based on the fact that every man has the same human qualities which we have. If we slight or despise the common human nature, we both hurt others and cheapen ourselves. Moreover, men at their best show their courage, fairness, and generosity to those who treat them well. This is true even of horses and

cattle; they do their best for the masters who treat them best.

Sympathy. — We owe every one sympathy. Sympathy means that we are glad to see others happy, and sorry to see them suffer; that we are glad to hear good of them, and sorry to hear evil. It is easy to show sympathy inside our own set of friends. The good of one is evidently the good of all; the hurt of one hurts all. Is not this true outside our own set? The good of every American is the good of all; the loss or hurt of one is the loss or hurt of the whole people. When any little wheel of the machinery of a great mill is injured, the mill is hurt.

Forbearance. — Suppose the people in trouble deserve to suffer. Suppose they have abused themselves or done injury to others. Forbearance means that we do not condemn our neighbor till we know the circumstances against which he struggles. He may be ill, he may be misinformed, or through no fault of his own he may be incapable. We are bound to be patient with him, as we wish others to be patient with us. Even when another does us injury, we have no right, like an ignorant savage, to wish him evil. That would be to wish evil to his family and to the community. We want to keep him from doing any more evil.

Assistance. — If our neighbor's wagon has broken down, if his boat has capsized, if his house is on fire, we owe him the same help that we should need if we were in his place. So, too, if one whom we have never seen needs help. Even dogs have often been known to jump into the water or plunge through snowdrifts to save a stranger's life.

Different grades of neighborly duty.—Our neighborly duties are of different grades. We are naturally responsible first for our own family and relatives. We owe more to our friends than to strangers, to those who are near than to the distant, to our workmen or employers than to others, to our townspeople than to those of another town, to our countrymen than to foreigners. The closer bonds make the greater obligations. We also know better those who are near us, and can treat them more intelligently. Thus, if a brother or a townsman were in trouble, we should choose to have the first chance to assist him. When the great earthquake wrecked San Francisco, every one was glad to help, but the first duty rested upon the people of California.

This rule, however, has its exceptions. A guest or a stranger or a foreigner may for a while need more attention or help than a friend or relative. He may happen to deserve more on account of his character or services, as when a distinguished man visits this country from abroad. Suppose you could have had Lafayette as a guest at your father's house!

What we do not owe to neighbors.—We owe kindly feeling to every one, but we do not owe to every one a place among our intimate friends. For no one can have many intimate friends.

Neither do we owe help which would have to be given at the expense of another. It would be as truly robbery to give an employer's money to relieve distress, as to use the money for one's own pleasure.

The difficulty in treating men as neighbors.—If all men were equal in intelligence, power, and goodness, there would be no difficulty in treating them as our

neighbors. But there are all sorts of inequalities among men. Who can measure the difference between a poor imbecile and a great statesman, poet, or philosopher? The difference between men in character is equally great. We cannot, therefore, truthfully treat all men in exactly the same way, or give all equal respect or sympathy, since there is so much more to love and honor in some men than in others. It would be unfair to treat idle, ignorant, or vicious people with the same respect which we show to the industrious, intelligent, and virtuous. To some people we owe great debts of respect or admiration; to others we owe our love or our loyalty; to others we owe sympathy and assistance; to others, pity; to all, good will, being members together of human society. The aim of all is the welfare of all.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE TREATMENT OF CRIME

The dangerous class. — Many thousands of people in the United States are confined in jails and prisons on account of crime. Many more now at large are suspected as dangerous. Many children, either by inheritance or unfortunate circumstances, belong to this class. It is sometimes called the *dangerous class*. We are told that the government exists to protect its citizens from crime and disorder.

Who are criminals? — Whoever is willing to injure his neighbors or the welfare of society is a criminal. There are many ways of injuring others. Besides those who rob and do violence, those may also as seriously injure society who get money by fraud, or by bad kinds of business, or who pursue a vicious or idle course. The body is not only hurt by cruel blows, but sometimes even more by wasting and insidious diseases. Some of the worst offenders may not, therefore, be touched by the laws. Thus, a mayor or senator who bargains for men's votes or gets them by bribery may do more harm than a burglar who breaks into a house. A rich man who leads a loose life may hurt the community — like a poison — as much as one who passes counterfeit money. Any person who is unscrupulous enough to be willing to get his pleasure or his living at others' expense does the work of a criminal, that is, a dangerous person.

Moreover, there are many unfortunate people who are unsound in body or mind. They have never possessed all their normal faculties. They often have little will of their own. They need special training and extra care such as we give to blind or deaf children. These are often mistaken for criminals and have had to suffer cruelly, and have grown worse rather than better in consequence. Kind doctors and others are studying such cases as these and finding out how to prevent their being criminals. If all children had good homes and wise aid early enough, there would probably be no criminals. Boys and girls are often thoughtless and harmful to others, but they rarely mean to commit crime, that is, deliberate injury to society.

Our duties to criminals.—When people have been shut up in prison they do not cease to be our neighbors, and we still have duties toward them. It is for their good as well as for our own that we confine them, as we would wish to be confined, if necessary, and prevented from doing injury. This is clearly true in the case of intoxicated men who, unless restrained, menace the safety of women and children. The truth is that the existence of dangerous people in society is largely their misfortune. Perhaps they or their parents have come from scenes of oppression over the seas and they do not yet understand how to behave as free men. Some of them have been harshly treated here for want of knowing our language, and have become lonely and discouraged. How would we have fared, if we had been brought up and treated like the people whom the police arrest? It is our duty, not merely to confine them if they injure life and property, but to help them if possible to regain

a useful place in the commonwealth. Let us teach them some trade; let us give them our confidence and respect as soon as we can.

Punishment. — The ancient idea of punishment was revenge or retaliation. It was thought that the wrongdoer ought to suffer enough to offset the harm he had done. The law was "an eye for an eye." The modern idea of punishment is to prevent harm. It is partly for the sake of society, to remove dangerous persons, to warn the thoughtless against doing wrong, and to show evildoers how intolerable crime and injustice are. It is hard to make the word *punishment* mean what we wish to say about it. What is it when exercised by a good father or a wise teacher? It should be the same in the State. We do not set ourselves against the wrongdoer as if he were an enemy; we are sorry for him; but we cannot allow him to go on doing harm to others. What will serve best to change his mind and to bring him over to the side of society? No punishment or penalty is good for anything, if it makes men worse.

Modes of punishment. — The modes of punishment used to be intended to cause pain, and were often terribly cruel, like the rack, the thumb-screw, and stoning to death. They were inflicted also for numerous small offences, such as ignorant or feeble-minded people might commit. These painful modes of punishment hurt and brutalized every one who witnessed them. They never made anyone better; neither did they prevent crime.

These cruel modes of punishment have largely been given up in the United States. We punish criminals by fines or payments of money, by imprisonment for longer or shorter terms, and in some States, for the crime of

murder, by the death penalty. But our penalties are rarely used so as to make men better.

Fines. — If one has caused the State loss or cost, it is fair that he should make the loss good by a payment of money. For many slight offences or for negligence, as when a citizen leaves ice upon his sidewalk, a fine may be a good way to remind him not to offend again. But fines which are a slight burden to the rich are often a severe penalty to the poor, who are perhaps obliged to go to jail for want of the money to pay. They lose work, their families suffer, the cost of keeping them in jail has to be borne by the State, and no one is better in the end.

Imprisonment. — There are certain wild, cruel, or desperate men who doubtless ought to be shut away from ordinary human society, as we separate a case of hopeless disease. There must be prisons, or some kind of hospital, for such dangerous characters. There are also those who are so hot-tempered, and have so little self-control, that they may need for a time to be deprived of their liberty, till they have shown that they can be trusted to be at large.

But our laws work considerable harm through our excessive use of jails and prisons. It is as if we sent all cases of measles, scarlet fever, and small-pox to the same hospital and treated them alike! Young persons who have never offended before, or poor men for want of money to pay a fine, are sometimes herded with old offenders. Many are sent to jail who do not need the stone cells and the thick walls, which are only good for guarding the few who are really dangerous. A bad and disgraceful name is also given, unjustly, to those who

have been sent to a jail. They are likely, also, to be driven into loose company. It is hard for men to get employment after they have been in jail. Is it not a terrible thing to expose anyone to the penalty of imprisonment, unless it is necessary? Moreover, it is expensive to shut thousands of men and women in prison, and we ought for every reason to be sure that the imprisonment does good enough to warrant the cost.

The death penalty. — The savage law has always been "a life for a life." The death penalty is the survival of the old custom. In many States this penalty has been changed to imprisonment for life. The fact is that the death penalty has never prevented bad or hot-tempered men from committing murder, nor has it made careless men feel the sacredness of human life. Moreover, few humane persons are willing to inflict the death penalty upon another. Why, then, should we require a sheriff or officer to do that which conscientious citizens are rarely willing themselves to do?

The rights of wrongdoers. — Every man has the right to be treated as innocent until his guilt is proved. If found guilty, he has a right not to be thought worse than he really is. If he has done wrong in one point, it does not follow that he is altogether bad. He always has the right to be treated as a man. But he may have thrown away the right to be believed, or to be trusted, or to his freedom, or to his franchise as a citizen. What right he has thrown away depends upon the nature of his offence. He may not deserve to be trusted or believed, or to be suffered to drive an automobile, but he may not have sacrificed the right to his liberty. Another may be honest or truthful, but so violent or bad-tem-

pered as to have lost his right to full liberty. Yet there may be no sense in keeping him behind bolts and bars. Another may be safe and decent while he is kept out of the way of intoxicating drink, but very dangerous where drink is accessible. What shall we say, if the laws allow drink to be kept constantly in his way?

What we ought to do. — We ought to give every offender a prompt and speedy trial. We should improve the slow and cumbrous machinery of our courts, which frequently imposes great delay and expense upon quite innocent persons. We ought to adapt our penalties to the nature of the offense, as the physicians give different treatment for different diseases. We should never needlessly lock men up in jail, or throw them into the company of hardened offenders.

We ought to divide offenders into different classes and treat them accordingly. Some would most fairly be required to work, as, for example, on the public streets. Some would need to be sent away to public farms or shops, where they could learn trades and acquire habits of self-control. As soon as they could be trusted, they should be given a trial of their freedom again. Some could be entrusted, like the harmless insane, to the care of discreet and friendly persons in different parts of the State. Those few only who need continual restraint should be locked behind prison walls.

Would it not be wise, when prisoners work, to let them share in the product of their labor? This might go to support their families or to provide them with means to secure an honest living when they come out of prison. We ought especially, when they come back to society, to see that they are befriended and

helped to find employment. Is it not cruel to desert them when they need help the most?

The indeterminate sentence. — The old and barbarous custom was to assign to every offence a particular penalty — as of so many stripes, or so long an imprisonment for stealing money or a loaf of bread. It was as if a physician treated every case of pneumonia with the same dose of medicine. The new way is to treat each case with regard to the circumstances. Suppose the man who stole the bread was starving? The "indeterminate sentence" means that the judge does not prescribe how long an offender must be confined. By good behavior he may soon prove that he can safely be trusted to return home. All that the State desires is that he shall take his place among good citizens. Otherwise he ought never to be set free to do harm. Some States already use the indeterminate sentence. Ought not our laws to allow its use everywhere?

Prison reform. — In some States prisoners are practically kept in idleness, especially in the county jails. Nothing is done to help them to earn a decent living after they are discharged. In some States prisoners have been hired out to contractors, who pay the State for their labor. The contractors make as much money as they can out of their bargain, as if they had hired so many cattle, but they do not try to help the men to become good citizens. The labor unions do not, of course, like to have such prison work compete for wages with their work.

New York, Massachusetts, and other States have adopted new methods in the care of prisons, in order to educate and reform the men and women committed to

them. Thus, in the Elmira Reformatory, the men are divided into classes according to their conduct. They may earn the right to be trusted. They are treated as fellow men and are taught trades. The indeterminate sentence is used, and "tickets-of-leave" are given on good behavior, entitling the men to live and work away from prison, as long as they use their freedom honorably. Much remains to be done, even in the most progressive States, in getting rid of old ideas of punishment, and in learning how to treat prisoners with a view both to their good and to the best interests of society. One important thing is to give the idle men in prison plenty of honest work with fair wages.

The power of pardon. — In the early days the king could pardon an offender. Now that the people are sovereign, the governor, or in certain cases the President, has the power, as representing the people, to grant pardons, as it is his duty in capital punishment to sign the death warrant. But the power of pardon, if lodged with one man, is liable to great abuse. It is, therefore, believed by many careful persons that the granting of pardons, as well as the care of prisons and the proper treatment of offenders, ought to be given to a board of the wisest and kindest men and women in the State, who shall be made, like the judges, responsible for their action. In some States, as Massachusetts, there are already prison commissions, but their authority and usefulness are limited.

The prevention of crime. — With crime, as with disease, the chief hope is in prevention. This requires an understanding of the causes which lead to it. These causes are often the inheritance from weak or vicious

parents. Other causes are the unfortunate circumstances in which many live, such as unsanitary and crowded tenement houses, pressing poverty, and the abuse of alcoholic drinks. Very many of the criminals, also, are ignorant.

The prevention of crime consists largely in the removal of its causes. Better houses, more wholesome sanitary arrangements, the spread of intelligence, good schools and teachers and honest companions, the forming of habits of temperance and self-control, tend to prevent crime. Sometimes children have to be taken away from bad homes and placed under new and wholesome surroundings. Friendly societies exist to find country homes for destitute children.

The detection of crime.—It has become customary, besides using police and constables to watch against and overtake wrongdoers, to employ men called "detectives" to ferret out crime in its hiding places. There are doubtless fair and honorable means of tracking guilt, but what if the State hires "a rogue to catch a rogue?" The State then pays some one for lying and deception — the very crimes which it wishes to prevent. Is it ever important enough to bring an offender to justice, to warrant the use of tools which weaken men's respect for each other and for the laws?

Lynch-law.—In wild and half civilized communities it sometimes happens that, for want of upright judges or righteous courts, the people take justice into their own hands. They appoint their own judge and jury, and hurry the culprit to punishment, sometimes with terrible injustice. It may seem possible that lynch-law is better than no law: its promptness may at times

seem no more unjust than the wearing delays of the courts; but what is more terrible than the spirit of revenge and the risk of punishing the wrong person? It commits a crime in order to punish crime.

A final caution. — There is sometimes a harsh feeling toward criminals, as if they were a different race from other men, or as if detection and civil punishment made wrongdoing worse than if it had escaped detection. On the contrary, all improvement in the treatment and reform of crime has come from the efforts of those who, like John Howard, hold the wrongdoer to be a man like themselves, and pity him accordingly, as we pity the victim of a dangerous disease.

CHAPTER XL

HOW TO HELP THE POOR

WE saw in Chapter XXXIV how many causes work to make and keep men poor. There is hardly a nation in the world in which a considerable number of its people do not live close to or below this danger line of poverty. We mean by poverty the condition in which people live without sufficient food or clothing, or proper housing, or time for rest and leisure; we mean a condition in which they cannot well have good health, or the happy use of their skill and intelligence, or the companionship of friends and the opportunity to develop whatever is best in them. For the sake of their humanity men need a decent living income and knowledge enough to use it wisely. No question is so great in a Commonwealth as: How best to help the poor? or better, How to abolish poverty? We want no class in the State who are called "poor," as apart from the rest of the citizens. The question used to be answered very easily. Alms, it was said, ought to be given them.

Pauperism. -- This plan of giving alms was tried for hundreds of years, till it was found that the more money was given to the poor, the poorer they became. In some countries, like Italy, there came to be a class of professional beggars. In England vast numbers of the people became paupers; that is, they were dependent for more or less of their living upon the support of the government. We see now that gifts of money and of

food, instead of helping the poor, take away their manliness and independence, and make them less capable of earning their living.

Moreover, when the poor could get their living for nothing, honest and industrious workmen had to suffer in consequence. This was partly because the taxes, which always come out of the earnings of industrious people, were made higher by the cost of supporting the poor. Besides, when much money is given to paupers, the wages of the industrious class are likely to fall. For the poor who are partly supported by private or public charity can afford to work for lower wages than the industrious and independent class, who support themselves. The competition of pauper laborers, therefore, always tends to bring wages down to the lower level.

The effect is the same when any of the poor are given board or food at less than market values. Suppose that there are in New York ten thousand poor girls for whom kind people provide rooms free of cost. These girls can afford to work at perhaps fifty cents a week less than those who have to pay the rent of their rooms. Now, employers naturally hire girls who can afford to serve for the smallest wages. These employers, again, can afford to sell their goods a little cheaper, and other employers, who compete with them, are led to lower their wages to the thousands of girls whose kind friends do not furnish free lodging. Thus unwise giving may hurt the very people whom one means to help.

Work not a curse. — Underneath the custom of giving alms to the poor was the strange old notion that work is a curse. For it used to be thought that the most

desirable condition is a life of ease and idleness. No sensible person now believes this; it is a thoroughly dishonest idea. Work, if not excessive, is known to be favorable to health and happiness. Even the struggle necessary to overcome difficulties often develops the most successful and the noblest men and women.

Charity; the general law. — *Charity* has sometimes meant what the rich give to the poor, that is, alms. No one likes such charity as this. Charity really means kindness, humanity, love. We use it here in this good sense. The wisest and kindest charity is *to help the poor to help themselves*. This is the working of nature, which rewards exertion, and has all sorts of penalties against imprudence and laziness. Thus, it is charity to find work for a man, or to show his wife how not to waste food, or to persuade men not to spend their money for drink. It is charity to provide insurance against sickness, accident, and death. It is charity to help children to learn trades and make themselves useful. We simply advise others to do what we do ourselves. What kind of help would you like, if you were in need? This is the kind that you may try to give. It may be charity to start a new industry where men are idle, so as to distribute fair and regular wages to as many people as possible. It is charity to build wholesome dwelling houses at reasonable rent. It would be the greatest of charities to enable men to become owners of their own homes.

Exceptional cases. — There are, however, certain poor people who, for various reasons, seem unable to help themselves — the aged, the sick and feeble, and widows with little children. There are also times when, for

want of work or failure of the harvests, large numbers of people are thrown out of employment. In ancient times such people were often left to suffer terrible hardships and to starve to death. We now hold it the duty of society to provide for these exceptional cases of poverty, and to do our utmost to prevent them.

Why society relieves exceptional poverty.—The growing humanity of the world will not let us stand idly by and do nothing to relieve suffering. In some cases — for instance, in a famine — it is necessary to give assistance for the welfare and safety of society. Society also owes its help to the innocent and to children, of whom the State is the natural guardian. So far, also, as the working of bad laws and customs has caused poverty, society ought to help pay the penalty of its own faults. Are we content to be happy while our fellow men are in distress?

The State, therefore, raises considerable money by taxation to relieve distress and to support hospitals and asylums. The feeble-minded and insane are largely cared for by the State. No city or town intends to permit its citizens, or strangers, to be left to starve. We have officers whose business it is to give at least temporary relief in case of need.

There are many, however, who need only to be tided over a period of misfortune, and who do not wish the assistance of public officers. Neither is it well for any to form a habit of looking to the public treasury to save the trouble of helping themselves.

The fact is, the spirit of kindness and gratitude grows whenever friends or neighbors help each other; but kindness and gratitude hardly grow at all if a policeman or

official gives public aid, which comes out of the labor of others. Moreover, friends and neighbors may render wiser aid than officials, and know better when it may be discontinued. The right kind of friendly and mutual societies play a useful part here.

Who is responsible? — Near friends or relatives ought, naturally, to help one another in misfortune. Near neighbors are more responsible for one another than distant ones. Ought not employers to have friendly care for their employees? Ought not owners of houses to bear some responsibility for their tenants? If relatives, neighbors, employers, and landlords all bore their fair responsibility, there would not be so much distress to be otherwise provided for.

The city poor and the country poor. — In the country the people generally know their neighbors. If anyone is in trouble, the fact is easily discovered and the causes and circumstances are known. If sickness or accident cause suffering, every one sympathizes and wishes to help. When bad habits make a family poor, friendly neighbors can see what to do in behalf of the neglected wife or children, or may even have influence enough to change the bad habits.

In the city, however, people often do not know their nearest neighbors. The very poor are apt to live crowded together, somewhat apart from the homes of the more prosperous. Employers may not be acquainted with their workmen; for great corporations hire thousands of men who are constantly changing. Often the owners of a tenement house, where poor people live, do not know who their tenants are, but merely collect their rent through an agent, like the absentee

landlords of Ireland. When trouble comes, therefore, no one may know of it at once, or what caused it, or how best to help it. Those who have means may never happen to learn the need of a poorer neighbor a few blocks away. These facts make it difficult to help the suffering in a city.

What kinds of help do no injury? — We have seen that it harms people to look to the public for support. The kinds of help which do good are those which all share in enjoying and in paying for. Thus, the whole city is better off when it cleanses and lights or widens and improves a bad street, or requires a dangerous or unhealthy house to be renovated or torn down.

So, too, it helps every one when a town provides education, libraries, and parks, free for all. Whatever tends to make the citizens more healthy, capable, and intelligent, "helps the poor to help themselves." The enlightened commonwealth especially wishes to give every child a fair start in life; as a parent believes that the better equipment his son has, the more honorable and useful he will become.

Friendly gifts and alms: the difference. — The person who gives alms to a beggar is like one who fires a gun without taking aim; for he does not know what the man really needs or whether his money will not do harm. He may give in order to get rid of the beggar. Even if the man needs money, too many strangers may waste their money upon him, to the neglect of a more needy person.

The gift of a friend, however, is apt to be directed with some intelligence. The man helped may always hope to make some return to his friend. The friend can keep an eye upon him to see if he makes good use

of the gift, and he will stop giving when the gift does no good. Friendly gifts, intelligently directed, leave us more capable or useful than we should be without them. We all receive such gifts at times. A poor man may receive friendly gifts from a wealthy neighbor, and may then help in turn a more needy person.

“Not alms, but a friend.” — In the best old-fashioned almsgiving there was at least one noble thing, namely, sympathy, or humanity. Our modern charity aims to foster this sympathy and to direct it to permanent good. It asks us to “put ourselves in the other’s place,” and to think what we should want if we were in distress. The motto of modern charity is, “*Not alms, but a friend.*”

What is being done. — If all the kind persons who wished to help the poor in a city were to act, each by himself, some needy families would receive more than their share, while others would be neglected. Therefore, in order to secure efficient action, we organize people into societies. We have to do all sorts of things together, or by wholesale, in a city. Sometimes, too, it is necessary to organize a number of societies together, so as not to interfere with each other. This is called the *Associated Charities*.

The Associated Charities endeavors by its agents to discover what the real needs of the poor in a city are; to find who are worthy and deserving, and who cannot be trusted; and to send its friendly volunteers to those who need friends. Sometimes employment is found for those out of work; or actual assistance must be obtained for a little while; or a suitable hospital or home must be provided; or perhaps a regular pension is needed for an aged person or an invalid. The leisure time of many

persons, as well as the benevolent gifts of many more, are thus directed where the most good may be done. The aim of the Associated Charities is, as far as possible, to assist the lonely and unfortunate to self-respect and self-support. Do these societies have too much "red tape" and too many officials? But how can we organize a great enterprise without having any clumsy machinery?

Savings banks. — The trouble with multitudes of people is that they have nothing between themselves and want. If illness befalls them, or they are thrown out of work, they run in debt or else suffer. The savings banks enable people to put by, "for a rainy day," small sums which would otherwise be spent or wasted, to accumulate and draw interest. The habit of using the savings banks induces people to become more industrious; it enables us on occasion of need to have the means to assist one another.

Our Government also provides the Postal Savings service, so that the people can safely invest their earnings at every post office in the country.

The coöperative bank is another kind of savings bank. It helps those who save their money to build or to own their home. The life insurance companies furnish another method to encourage industry and self-denial for the sake of one's family.

The housing of the poor. — In some of the great cities abroad, as Glasgow, where tenement houses have become terribly crowded, the law permits the public authorities to buy property and to build decent houses to be rented. The dilapidated old houses are a menace to the public safety. How far it is well for the public

to carry on business, like building, owning, and renting houses? We are experimenting with this question. Perhaps it would be better for people to own their houses and to be responsible for the care of them. They do this largely by the aid of coöperative banks in Philadelphia and other cities.

Cautions. — The giving of exceptional help for the unfortunate needs to be constantly watched. No man must be encouraged, when ill or out of work, to depend upon public aid or benevolent societies instead of on his own prudence and savings. Is it just to the thrifty and industrious, if the improvident are helped to fare better than their neighbors? The complaints of those who ask for help must be carefully investigated. Inveterate beggars must be found out, and perhaps treated specially; the intemperate husband must not think that he can spend his wages in drink, and have his family supported by charity. Is not the Associated Charities right in keeping careful records of its inquiries?

Rich beggars, paupers, and tramps. — All that we say of beggars and paupers is true of certain persons in the well-to-do class as well as of those among the poor. Is it not as disgraceful to live at the rate of thousands of dollars a year out of the labor of others, and without doing any useful service, as to be willing to live on a pittance from a charitable society? Is it not as bad to beg for an office under the government in order to draw pay as it is to beg alms of a stranger on the street? May not he who selfishly spends in traveling over the world the money which others have earned, be only a better dressed tramp?

CHAPTER XLI

THE GREAT SOCIAL SUBJECTS

The growth of moral habits. — The world learns slowly what is right and wrong, as children learn. In old times habits and conduct were allowed which civilized people now condemn and punish. We are told that the Spartans once taught their youth to be adroit thieves. The nations once permitted human slavery. There were tribes who lived by raiding their neighbors, and cities, like Tripoli and Algiers, till recent times, whose chief business was piracy. While we have now many laws and a long list of crimes, our forefathers long ago had but a few very simple laws; and their consciences were not quick to protest against cruel deeds.

The great rule of morals. — Men once did wrong, like children, without fairly seeing what harm the wrong did. Or, they supposed that wrong did harm to others, but did not see how it also hurt the one who committed it. Thus, although men knew that it would be bad for themselves to be slaves, they were slow in finding out that it was bad for themselves and their children to keep slaves. So with brigandage and piracy: men discovered at last that it was not only bad to be robbed, but bad also to live by robbery.

As fast as men discover that any practice or habit is *harmful*, they begin to call such conduct wrong, and to make laws to prevent it. Their consciences also make them uncomfortable in doing what they now see is

hurtful. Thus, as soon as any man saw what harm slavery did to the masters and to society and to the State as well as to the slave, his conscience forbade him to keep slaves.

That which harms may seem at first to give some one pleasure or profit, like the brigand's booty, or the slave's service to his master; as a poisonous draught may give a moment's pleasure in the mouth. The simple rule, however, holds good, that any conduct or habit is bad, and therefore wrong, which on the whole hurts or weakens society, or leaves men poorer and worse. We are here to do good to our families and friends, to our city, to our country, to men of every race wherever we can. We get good by doing good, never by doing injustice or harm.

Moral subjects that have been settled. — There are already many practices, such as slavery and piracy, the harm of which civilized men have clearly found out through painful and costly experience. We have put an end in this country to duelling, although as late as 1804 the distinguished statesman, Alexander Hamilton, lost his life in a duel. The world has learned the terrible harm and social disorder that comes by unfaithfulness in marriage, so that the laws and men's consciences make unfaithfulness a grave crime. When we say that such subjects are settled, we do not mean that every one does right with regard to them, but that men generally know the difference between right and wrong.

New questions. — There are other subjects on which men are only now fairly learning what is right; there are subjects upon which they are not as yet agreed. Thus, men have only lately agreed to brand cruelty to animals

as a crime. How many people do not yet see the harm of it? About gambling, about the family, and the clean life, about the use of alcoholic drinks, there are still grave questions of right and wrong, which are only slowly becoming settled.

Lotteries and gambling. — There was once a time when our forefathers appear to have seen no harm in gambling, and lotteries were approved by the State, and permitted to aid colleges and charitable enterprises. It at last became evident that gambling did great harm to society. It led to idleness and waste. The losers not only had to suffer, but they dragged their friends to loss and want; the winners gained only by their neighbors' losses — a mean kind of gain! The whole of society was poorer and not richer by gambling. If, then, gambling hurts society, is not anyone who engages in it for his own pleasure, or excitement, or gain, an enemy to society like the thief or the highwayman?

Gambling in prices, or stock speculation. — Men are not yet fully agreed as to what constitutes gambling. Thus, while the laws forbid lotteries and games of cards for money, the laws cannot easily prevent men from betting or gambling upon the rise and fall of the prices of goods or stocks and bonds. But do not all kinds of betting, where men hope to win by others' loss, hurt society? After men have finished betting, has anything been done to make society richer or happier? On the contrary, the waste of time of the losers and the gains of the winners must come out of the labor of the industrious, and leave every one poorer. Does the "fun" of the winners make up for the disappointment of the losers? It seems, therefore, as if those who wish to get their liv-

ing not by honest service but merely by their luck, and out of other men's pockets, must be classed as gamblers. What honest man wishes to be made rich at others' expense?

The family. — Men made various experiments in savage times about the family, before they came to see the true law of the marriage of one man to one woman. Every other relation of men and women to each other has proved to be full of mischief. Every other relation works harm and degradation to both men and women, and proves especially bad for the children. Every other relation, since it hurts both the individual and society, becomes wrong. It becomes wrong none the less, even when in particular cases it seems not to do immediate harm. If a colony of Turks come to America, although their custom and their consciences may still allow them to practice polygamy, we expect them, as good citizens of the United States, to obey our marriage laws.

A little advice. — No class of subjects is more important than those relating to marriage. Serious trouble and wretchedness, often falling upon innocent children, come from ignorance, recklessness, or abuse regarding marriage. Much that is written upon it in stories and novels, and much of the conversation about it, is beneath the respect of sensible persons. Ought not young persons to seek knowledge and counsel on these subjects from some careful and experienced older friend, a high-minded teacher, or one's religious adviser, or, best of all, a wise parent? Men especially ought not to forget what honor we owe to all women for the sake of our own mothers.

The marriage laws. — There are a few public facts about marriage which an intelligent person must know. Thus, it is necessary to the order of society and for preserving the rights of children, that certain simple marriage laws should be observed. Those who do not strictly observe these laws are liable to fines and penalties. The intentions of marriage should be registered beforehand at some appointed office, as, for instance, at the office of the town or city clerk; some authorized person, a priest or minister or Rabbi or magistrate, should perform the ceremony of marriage; or at least the two parties should affirm in the presence of witnesses their serious purpose to be joined in marriage, as is the custom of the Society of Friends; and a public record should be made of each marriage. The laws also require that the two persons shall be of suitable age. The laws of the various States differ in many particulars, but a marriage that is legally performed in one State is held to be valid in other States. It is believed by many that it would be well if a wise system of marriage laws could be made uniform in all the States.

What the laws cannot do. — It seems a pity that the laws cannot require the husband to prove himself capable of giving a wife proper support, and to guarantee the care and education of children. But the laws alone cannot compel people to be thrifty, industrious, or honorable. The laws do not and cannot represent the highest rule of conduct in marriage. They require what men are able generally to agree upon, as necessary for the public good. They insist mainly upon such public forms of registration as are demanded for the protection of society, marriage being in the eyes of the law a sort

of contract. In certain painful circumstances, they provide, generally through the courts, for divorce, or the separation of husband and wife. If every one did right, there would be little need of such separation.

The ideals, or the higher law. — The laws of the State are made with reference to men as they are, many of whom are ignorant and vicious. Sometimes the wrong men help to make the laws, which at best are intended to suit the average citizen, and to allow for many differences of opinion. Alongside of the law of the State, there is commonly a higher law. It is that which ought to be. It is none the less obligatory because it may not yet be enacted into a statute. As regards the higher law of marriage, the best men make somewhat different statements. Thus, the Roman Catholic Church, and certain other religious teachers, call it a *sacrament*, that is, something holy and inviolable, which the State cannot, therefore, sever. They lay stress also upon the form or manner in which it is celebrated, and do not consider the civil process sufficient without a religious ceremony.

With certain differences in form and statement, all authorities agree that a true marriage consists in the love, devotion, and constancy of both husband and wife. They agree in setting the same standard of faithfulness and clean living for men and women. They appeal not only to the natural desire for a happy home, but to the most chivalrous human nature, and to every one's conscience.

CHAPTER XLII

THE PROBLEMS OF TEMPERANCE

AMONG the moral questions which have come into view in modern times, like the questions of slavery and gambling, is the treatment of the alcoholic drinks. Although in old times wise men saw dangers in the use of wine and strong drink, few believed that their use was wrong. Moreover, the manufacture of the stronger drinks, such as brandy and rum, is comparatively modern.

The Old World idea of temperance. — It used to be thought that the only harm in alcoholic drinks was in their abuse. Temperance was to exercise self-control and not to become intoxicated. As this was the general opinion of the world for thousands of years, it is not strange that multitudes still hold it; most of the foreign people who come to our shores bring this idea. There are doubtless persons who have easy control of their appetites and are naturally temperate. There are probably certain races and nations more temperate than others.

Facts upon which all are agreed. — All thoughtful persons agree that the harm, waste, misery, and poverty, the degradation and crime which come from the use of alcoholic drinks are a terrible evil to the Nation. The amount of money which goes every year in the United States to the purchase of these drinks is more than a billion dollars. Courts, prisons, and police

cost vastly more by reason of men's habits of drunkenness. Children of drinking parents are apt to inherit enfeebled bodies and minds. These evils are perhaps worse in America, on account of our stimulating climate and the somewhat nervous character of our people, who are easily hurt by the whip of an artificial stimulant.

Moreover, the physicians, who once used wine and other alcoholic drinks in the treatment of disease, have discovered that they do harm rather than good, and that their usefulness even as medicine is within extremely narrow limits.

It is agreed that alcoholic drinks, as a rule, are bad for women, whose finer nervous organization is easily damaged by the poison of the alcohol; so, too, for men who lead a sedentary life, as clerks, students, and men in professional work; so especially for the young. Even the milder alcoholic drinks contain alcohol enough to injure the growing body.

It is also agreed that no one in health needs alcoholic drinks, as was once supposed. It is now known that extremes of heat, cold, and exposure, such as soldiers, sailors, or explorers endure, are better borne by those who do not use these stimulants. The stronger the intoxicating drink the more it acts like a poison. If, then, the body has already been subject to this effect, it becomes, like a bow frequently bent, less elastic to resist disease or fatigue.

It is agreed that alcoholic drinks are especially insidious. Their use grows into an enslaving habit and begets a craving for more frequent use, which at last becomes a disease and paralyzes the patient's will.

Those who have a decided or, especially, a hereditary taste for these liquors, expose themselves to great peril in using them.

It is agreed that the alcoholic drinks are particularly subject to adulteration with poisonous substances, and to artificial strengthening with bad alcohol. The character of many of the persons connected with the liquor traffic makes it difficult and costly to obtain pure liquors.

It is agreed that it would be well for working people and their families, who make the strength of the Nation, if they did not touch intoxicating drinks. The disuse of these drinks would be equal to the addition of one tenth to their wages. The release of the grain and other material that now goes wastefully to the manufacture of alcoholic drink would cheapen the staple foods of the Nation. Even a moderate use of alcohol takes off the fine edge of a man's skill and renders him liable to accidents, especially in the use of modern machinery. In many employments drinking men can no longer get work; they cannot be trusted and depended upon; the Civil Service Commissions will not recommend them as laborers, or for the police force. The managers of the best railroads do not want them for engineers or switchmen. Can an indulgence which is bad in so many ways for the great mass of the people be good or useful for anyone? Can anyone be found to whom the use of alcoholic beverages is necessary? Does anyone excuse himself for using them because he has nothing better to do in the world?

The new temperance. — Since the use of alcoholic beverages does such terrible harm to multitudes of individuals, and to the Nation, the question comes, whether

the same rule does not hold good that holds against polygamy, slavery, and gambling, namely, that what is harmful to society is wrong. The number of American people who say this about alcoholic drinks increases every day. The opinion of the world is changing to a realization that the alcohol habit is one of man's greatest enemies. What if a few individuals get a little selfish pleasure from it without immediate harm to themselves? If it does harm rather than good to the Nation as a whole, should not every good patriot let alcohol alone?

This new idea about alcohol has made its way faster in America than anywhere else. But wherever new ideas meet with hospitable attention it is coming to prevail.

A new moral rule.—When a new moral rule appears, it is apt to pass through two stages. First, a few individuals take it up and obey it; then, when public opinion becomes strong enough, and men's consciences generally approve the rule, laws are made to express the new public opinion, and to help enforce it. Thus many pure-hearted men gave up polygamy long before public opinion was strong enough to make laws about it; and many individuals refused to gamble while the laws still permitted the practice. So great numbers of people became total abstainers from intoxicating drinks long before their neighbors recognized the new rule.

The reformers.—There must always be those in society who are pioneers, to hew the way in advance. Sometimes these pioneers try dangerous experiments; they have to brave the old established public opinion; they may even run the risk of being mistaken, or disappointed, like the navigators who expected to discover

a northwest passage from Europe to Asia. When the pioneers endeavor to change men's habits, customs, or laws, and establish new and more beneficial customs, we call them reformers. The noblest men who have lived have been among them; they have not sought anything for themselves, but only the good of society. Wilberforce in England, and Garrison in America, were such reformers in getting rid of slavery. There are men of the same spirit in every State, who are trying to get rid of the old habit of intemperance. The reformers often have to give up their own time, or money, or pleasure for the good of the people.

What is being done. — All are agreed that intemperance will not cure itself. Public opinion, therefore, already demands certain laws to restrict the sale of intoxicating drinks. Liquors ought not to be sold to children or to drunkards; they ought not to be sold by reckless and unprincipled persons; the places of sale ought to be closed within certain hours; there ought to be no adulteration of the liquors sold; dealers who break the laws should never be permitted to continue in the business; drunken men should be restrained or confined.

License. — Many citizens hold that the sale of intoxicating drinks, like that of drugs, should be only in the hands of authorized or licensed dealers. Since the expense to the community from the drinking habit is enormous, and alcoholic drinks are not a necessity, but at best a luxury, the license to sell should require a special fee or tax. The higher this license tax is made, the smaller the number of drinking-places will be, and the more careful the licensed dealers will be to obey the

laws. It is also for their interest to aid the police to close unlicensed places. License laws are favored by those who hold that there is a proper use of the lighter alcoholic beverages. There are many, also, who, believing such beverages to be injurious, favor license laws, partly because they do not think it possible to prevent people by law from using these drinks, and partly because, as long as men use them, they deem it just that the dealers should be made to bear some of the cost which results from their business.

On the other hand, if the liquor traffic on the whole works evil, why should the State sanction it at all? We do not grant licenses in favor of lotteries. Moreover, is it democratic to permit wealthy dealers to sell liquors, but to forbid the poor who cannot afford to pay the license fee?

Local option.—In some States the experiment has been tried of permitting each town, or city, or county to determine for itself whether it will license or prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks. Thus, where public opinion is already strong against the sale of liquor, the people can vote to shut up the saloons and can require their officers to enforce the law. But where public opinion still runs in the other direction, in great towns crowded with immigrants accustomed to foreign habits, and where, therefore, the will to enforce a prohibitory law is lacking, it is permitted to regulate and license the sale of liquors. If, meanwhile, any city becomes at last tired of its liquor saloons, it can vote to try the other method. Thus by various experiments, the people can learn which method is best for the public safety and happiness.

The drinking-saloon. — The saloon is a place where almost nothing is sold except intoxicating drinks. These drinks have their most injurious effect when taken without food. The saloons naturally become the resort of idle men. They have become a public nuisance. It has not been found easy, however, to make a law to close the drinking-saloons while restaurants and hotels are still permitted to sell liquors.

Prohibition. — Most persons who see the harm in alcoholic drinks hold that laws should be made to prevent their sale, except strictly for mechanical or medicinal purposes. They would not only have drinking-saloons closed; no hotels should furnish wine to their guests; no grocers should sell it to their customers. In Maine, Kansas, and many States, laws have been passed to this effect. Some States have also made amendments to their constitutions, forbidding the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. An amendment of this sort has been proposed by Congress. It is said in its favor that the long arm of the National Government can shut our ports to the entrance of alcoholic drinks; it can close breweries and distilleries; it can forbid the use of the great highways to the carriage of liquors. No single State can do this. It is common to find the sale of liquor licensed, as if it were right, on one side of the boundary of a State, and branded as wrong in the next State. If it is for the greater good to forbid this kind of business in one place, why not everywhere else?

On the other hand, it is unfortunate if a new law touching men's habits has to be passed over the protest of a large minority of the people, who have not been

persuaded of the merits of the law. It is especially unfortunate if many of those who vote for the law do not actually keep it themselves. For these reasons the prohibitory laws have largely failed so far of enforcement, except in communities where public opinion already condemns the drinking habit.

Indeed, it is not enough to secure votes to pass a law. We need also to enlighten and alter the opinion of the whole body of the people so that they give willing support to the law. This cannot be done by force but by friendly persuasion, suitable to a democratic rule.

Moral education. — Besides the change in the drinking habit which laws aim to effect, there is a slow growth of public opinion which works to make people temperate. The evil physical effects of alcohol are coming to be better known. Drunkenness, which was once respectable, is now a disgrace. Large numbers of persons practice total abstinence and, like Benjamin Franklin, find themselves stronger, more prosperous, and happier in consequence. Generous young men see that it is a poor habit for the individual which is bad for the Nation. "That cannot be good for the bee which is bad for the hive." This change in the habits of the people is deeper and more effective than prohibitory laws, being based on the good will of the people themselves.

Narcotics and tobacco. — There are various drugs and stimulants, all of them more or less poisonous, some of them, as opium, very hurtful, others, tobacco, coffee, tea, etc., in quite common use. There is not one of them which compares for daily healthful use with pure water. There is not one of them which is not hurtful

in some degree to children. Nicotine, the poison in tobacco, is especially bad for the young. It is a kind of slavery to depend upon tobacco in any form and at any age. Moreover, there is no strong character or effective will that does not need to have practice in saying *No* repeatedly to useless luxuries and indulgences. Is there anything — for example, sugar or candy — that you cannot get along without? Are you willing to let any *thing* be master of your life?

PART V

INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRACY; OR, THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS

CHAPTER XLIII

INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND HOW IT GROWS

Ancient warfare. — In early times war was the common condition in which people lived. It was thought right to do as much harm as possible to a foreign country. A weak nation was regarded as fair prey for a stronger nation. Quarrels were always breaking out between neighboring peoples. Prisoners taken in war, if not butchered, were held as slaves. Private property was the booty of the victors. On the sea, men were even more inhumane than on the land. Ships driven on shore or wrecked were, even to a quite recent period, the plunder of the people of the country on whose shores they were driven. The foreign sailors who escaped the storm were liable to be killed if they went on shore.

International jealousy. — War was not the only evil which kept neighboring nations apart. Men used also to be very jealous and suspicious of foreigners, and of their customs and religion; they did not welcome foreign immigration. It was thought necessary to put heavy and costly restrictions on foreign trade. It was believed that money ought not, under any circumstances, to be sent out of the country. It used to be thought desirable to have other countries poor.

The dawn of international rights. — There were a few circumstances which mitigated the horrors of ancient war. It was early held that the persons of heralds or ambassadors were sacred. Though the dead were liable to be stripped of their clothing and ornaments, their burial was generally permitted. Sometimes a truce was agreed upon for this purpose. The oppression of stronger tribes or nations led the weaker to combine in confederations and alliances. These alliances were celebrated by solemn religious oaths. The Greeks, for instance, united against the Persians, and for a while almost stopped fighting among themselves. The vast empires of the Assyrians and the Persians compelled a degree of peace between the subject nations; and increasing travel and commerce brought about the acquaintance of people of different languages. It was found to be more profitable to the conquerors to spare the conquered than to destroy them. Thus the power of Rome was built up partly by force, but also by a wise system of tolerating the customs and the religions of her subjects.

Christianity. — When Christianity was established there developed a new bond among different nations; for everywhere there were Christians pledged to befriend each other. Christianity, however, in spite of its benevolent principles, did not succeed in making nations live together peaceably. On the contrary, some of the most terrible wars came about between Christian nations and over religious quarrels.

Popular government. — At last in certain countries, and especially in England, the people came to have a little political power. Whereas before, war had been car-

ried on merely for the benefit of the rulers, or at least of the soldiers, now the ~~rulers~~ were obliged to have some form of consent from the people.

Popular intelligence. — Meanwhile, the people, having learned to read and to think, had become more intelligent, and therefore averse to war. They had also become better acquainted with the people of other nations, and had found out their good qualities. They discovered that they all grew richer by trading than by fighting. Moreover, the fact that war had become extremely expensive and terribly destructive worked to abate its horrors, since even bad rulers feared to ask their people to pay its cost or run the risk of failing in it. The growing humanity of modern times also insisted that respect should be paid, in case of war, to the property, as well as to the lives, of non-combatants and private citizens.

Reciprocity of interests. — People are now learning that it is to their own advantage that their foreign customers should be prosperous, and therefore able to buy more goods and to pay their debts. As it is desirable to have one's fellow citizens well off, so it is desirable to have all the different families of nations prosper together. Thus religion and self-interest, as well as the general humanizing influence of travel and commerce, have slowly tended to bring civilized nations to a more friendly feeling toward each other.

The new sentiment. — The change which has come to pass in the relation of States to each other may be expressed briefly as follows: Once different peoples regarded each other as enemies, and the prosperity of one was thought to be the injury of another. Now they

regard each other as neighbors, and the harm of one nation is believed to be a loss to all the others.

International law. — There have gradually been established, partly through treaties, partly by the precedents of usage, certain rules or laws governing the behavior of nations toward each other, exactly as the laws of a State regulate the behavior of citizens. International law is the working out of the principles of justice and humanity among the nations. There are courts in each nation which have the important duty of deciding questions of international law. The United States courts have this jurisdiction.

There is one important difference between international law and the ordinary laws of a nation. Our national courts have officers, sheriffs, constables, and police to enforce their decisions. But how can a nation enforce a treaty, or the decision of an international court? Suppose the other party is unwilling to obey the decision? This difficulty is not so serious as it might seem. Obedience to law depends far less on the compulsion of the police or of an army than it does upon the public opinion and the good will behind the laws. As the government rests upon the consent of the people, so the laws hold by the consent of these who obey them. The laws and agreements between nations rest likewise upon the consent of the people of the nations who have agreed in their treaties to obey these laws. Their national honor is involved in keeping their promises. No civilized nation likes to stand out against the public opinion of the world.

But what if a nation is willing to go to war rather than obey the international law or carry out a decision

of the international court? We have the same kind of question when a part of the nation is ready to fight rather than to obey an unpopular law. There are two answers. One is that it is time to put an end to the barbarous war system which tempts people to fight. Where citizens go armed ready for a fight they are apt to defy the laws and even to shoot the sheriff. Likewise as long as nations keep armies to fight with each other they are tempted to break their international laws. Wherever armies are ready for use men will be found ready to use them.

Another answer is, that it is for the interest and honor of the nations to deal with each other in a friendly or democratic way. What is the difference between an old-fashioned school and the best modern school? In the one, the teacher threatened and punished and depended upon his strength to compel obedience; but it is hard to obey anyone who threatens. In the good school the teacher and the pupils respect and trust each other. We obey our own laws. We can and must have the same kindly feeling between the nations. The people of one nation have no object in doing injustice to another nation. International law is simply an agreement for the common good. Even if the international court makes a mistake, is it not better to be patient and, if necessary, to correct or improve the law, than to incur the awful injustice that war brings upon innocent people all over the world?

The Hague Tribunal.—In 1899 at the instance of the Czar of Russia, a conference of the nations was called at the capital of Holland to consider their common interests, to see if something could not be done to get rid

of the dreadful burden of armies and navies, and to make certain international agreements. Another meeting called by President Roosevelt was held at the same place in 1907. This was attended by representatives of a larger number of nations than before. A long step in civilization was taken when arrangements were made to establish a permanent court or tribunal. The Hague Tribunal had already begun to do service in various cases brought before it, when the Great War interrupted its work. There is more reason now than ever why it must be taken up again and brought into use, as the only decent method for civilized nations to settle disagreements. A beautiful Palace of Peace has been erected at the Hague, largely by the gift of Mr. Andrew Carnegie of New York.

With the Hague Tribunal there will be some regular arrangement for a meeting of the delegates of all the nations to confer, like a Congress or Legislature, about our common interests and to take practical measures for the welfare of the world. This grand scheme has long been in the minds of thinkers and statesmen. Its success will depend, not upon the use of brute force, as men used to think, but upon the growing humane public opinion of multitudes of people, who will learn to trust each other without distinction of race or color. Its success will largely depend upon the young people in our American schools. The United States has the opportunity of leading the world, not by the methods of the tyrant, but by justice and good will at home and abroad.

Arbitration and mediation. — People who disagree do not always need a court to bring them together or to

redress grievances. So with nations. They may agree to choose, or to have other friendly governments choose for them, a small commission of fair-minded men, and to abide by their decision. A large number of cases have been disposed of in this way, and wars have thus been prevented. The famous Alabama Claims against England is an instance of the effective working of this amicable method.

It is not even necessary for the nations in a controversy to agree beforehand to accept the decision of the Arbitration Board. They can refer the question to it and decide afterwards what to do with it. Meanwhile, the delay allows angry feeling to soften, and the final report of the Commission serves as an appeal to the common sense of both parties and to the public opinion of the world, thus making a fair agreement much easier than it would have been before.

Sometimes parties or nations who disagree need nothing except the friendly offer of help from a neighbor. This is called *conciliation* or *mediation*.. The Hague Tribunal has agreed to recommend the offer of such help to nations involved in a dispute. Whereas once this intervention was deemed meddlesome or presumptuous, it has now become almost a duty. Why should civilized nations sit idly by and see their neighbors drifting into war and not try to bring them to decent terms?

The Monroe Doctrine. — Early in the history of the republic, Washington laid down the principle that our Government ought to stand aloof from the quarrels of the nations of Europe. Later, President Monroe, whose Secretary of State was John Quincy Adams, in a mes-

sage to Congress stated the doctrine that the European governments ought not to plant new colonies or acquire territory in America. The idea was "America for Americans." This is the famous "Monroe Doctrine." It practically said to the monarchial governments of Europe, "Hands off from America." Since President Monroe's time, the conditions of the world have changed. All nations are on the way to become republics. No European government is going to play the tyrant on American soil. The nations south of us are growing strong and do not ask us to defend them. Neither do they like to have us meddle with them. They only ask us to trust them as our friends. Meanwhile the peoples of every continent and of the islands of the Pacific Ocean are nearer neighbors to us than England was a hundred years ago. We are beginning to think of a new and greater Doctrine, namely, the League of Nations, the Commonwealth of the World.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS

The three purposes of international law. — There used to be three purposes of government — protection from enemies abroad, protection from the injustice of fellow citizens, and public convenience. International law began with three similar purposes.

In the first place, it united different nations in alliance against common enemies. At one time it aimed to suppress piracy and the slave trade. It made rules for giving up murderers and other dangerous men to the country where they belonged for trial.

In the second place, international law has always aimed to secure fair dealing among neighboring nations. There are certain important mutual rights and duties between nations which international law aims to define. Thus treaties and usage fix and preserve the sacredness of boundary lines, upon which no foreign nation has a right to trespass. International law also seeks to ameliorate the frightfulness of war.

In the third place, international law aims at the general convenience. There are certain objects — for example, a universal postal service — which many governments unite to secure. Treaties and usage also serve to protect travelers and foreign residents, as well as the goods of foreign merchants, in all civilized countries. Lighthouses and coast surveys are maintained for the interest of the commerce of the world.

We have seen that the meaning and the uses of government are changing. The time is coming when no people will be afraid of any other people. The chief business of a government is growing to be more coöperative every day. This change is also at work in international law. Whereas it once consisted largely in defining the conditions of warfare, it is coming to be chiefly concerned with those practical means which enable us to live peaceably together and better to carry out the great policies in which no nation can succeed without the help of the rest. We want the seas free of peril to the small nations as well as to the great. Nations once joined to stop the slave trade. So now they must make rules for themselves, and establish a wholesome public opinion that will forbid meddlesome conduct on the part of a strong State toward a weaker people. The stronger nations must likewise contrive to give the weaker peoples free opportunity and the means of education so as to develop their own civilization, as our ancestors did centuries ago.

The diplomatic service. — Ambassadors, consuls, and other public agents, with certain powers and privileges attached to their office, are recognized by foreign governments as representing the rights and interests of their countrymen.

What if the international diplomatic service fails to bring about good feeling between nations? Unfortunately this has often been the case. This was because the old monarchial or imperial governments distrusted each other and coveted each other's territory; certain governments made secret treaties together against other nations, and plots or intrigues were carried on by the

help of spies. All Europe was divided against itself before the Great War, under the notion of "the balance of power"; this expressed fear on each side. The people of the various nations were not allowed to know the diplomatic secrets of their governments. Not even the Parliaments knew. The Great War has made diplomatic plotting and secret treaties odious. The free nations will have no more of them. Their ambassadors and consuls are now good mainly to keep up a kindly understanding and a better union among nations, as we seek to do between our own American States. We have already had many international exchanges between noted professors in foreign universities abroad and our own. Is not this an excellent kind of new diplomacy to maintain between our Nation and the others?

Domestic affairs. — Every nation has a right to manage its affairs without dictation from other nations. If France, for example, wants a president, rather than a king, England and Germany have no right to interfere. Likewise, in the American Civil War, it was the right of our Government to settle our difficulties without interference from other countries. This is the same kind of right which belongs to every household to make its own rules without dictation from outside.

Foreign commerce and intercourse. — On the same principle, every nation has a right, if it is judged to be best, and no treaty forbids, to exclude the people or the products of another country. China has thus the right to forbid Europeans from residing in her territory, or to shut out British opium. When we say that the Chinese have a right to exclude foreigners, we do not decide that such action is wise or righteous. We mean

that the Chinese have a right, in their own country, not to be molested by other nations. What business have we to force ourselves or our trade upon them? So, likewise, if the safety of our institutions could be proved to require it, we should have the right to limit foreign immigration.

The customhouse. — A nation has also a right to require the payment of a tax upon imported foreign goods, and to make its own rules to govern foreign trade. Thus, some of the goods which come into our country have to pay a duty; this is partly to raise the revenue for our national expenses and partly to "protect home industries."

Maritime rights. — It is the right of every nation that her ships shall sail the seas without molestation. That is to say, the ocean is recognized as the great common highway, free to all. The fisheries also, except close to shore, are common international property. The right to the seas is limited, however, by certain conditions of international law. A ship, for instance, runs the risk of capture in carrying material of war to a belligerent nation. As soon as any ship leaves the open sea and comes to land or into a harbor, she must regard the rules of the country.

Rights of travel and of foreign residence. — It is the right of every nation that her citizens, so far as they are allowed to travel or to reside in other countries, should have as ample protection of life and property as is afforded to the citizens of those countries. If an American resides in England or Japan, he is entitled, like a guest in a house, to the same care which the English or Japanese government gives any of its own people.

Author's and inventor's rights. — It is generally held that writers and inventors are entitled to some compensation for their work from the public, whom they instruct, entertain, or enrich. This compensation is given in the form of copyrights upon books, or patents upon inventions. If such compensation is justly due from the country in which the author or inventor lives, there is no reason why it should not also be due from any other country which uses the inventions or reads the books. The system of international patents and copyrights had its origin in this principle.

National honor. — What is the honor of a nation? It is like the honor of a man. Suppose a man is just, courteous, and kindly. He is thus the keeper of his own honor. No one else can stain it or take it away. No one can insult a man like Abraham Lincoln. The insult rebounds against the man who utters it. So with the just and neighborly nation; no one can steal its honor.

CHAPTER XLV

THE DUTIES OF NATIONS

Obvious or recognized duties. — There are certain obvious duties which nations owe each other, such as keeping treaties and observing the usages and forms which, like good manners among neighbors, promote convenience and friendly feeling. A government must provide at least as good care for the citizens of another country, traveling or doing business in its domain, as it gives to its own people. They are its guests for the time. It follows that each government ought to forbid its people to do harm to the persons or property of another nation. Thus in our Civil War it was the duty of the British government to forbid shipbuilders to fit out privateers, like the *Alabama*, to prey on our commerce.

Duties of honor. — Besides duties already recognized by treaty and custom, there are further duties, which grow out of the principle that all nations are neighbors. The barbarous way was to make laws against foreigners as enemies. A nation did right, it was thought, to rob them if it could, through its laws and taxes, of their share in trade. On the contrary, the laws of a nation ought not only to secure the rights of its own citizens, but also to regard the interests of other men.

As no laws ought to be designed to give any class or individual special privileges or monopolies, so no laws should be designed to give a nation more than its share as compared with its neighbors. This is not only jus-

tice; it is for the interest of a nation to deal handsomely with its neighbors. We have seen that the wealth of one nation is not gained out of the losses of its neighbors, but out of their wealth. Is it not, therefore, desirable, so far as laws and taxes can be so arranged, to increase the prosperity of neighboring nations rather than to diminish it?

The duties of nations toward their colonies. — Certain races, as the Greeks in old times, and the Anglo-Saxons in modern times, have spread over the world by planting colonies. Thus the United States was first settled by colonies; our Western Territories were colonies from the older parts of the country. It is the duty of a nation to protect its colonists while they are weak, and to help them to establish a settled government. The parent State aims to raise the colony to self-support and self-government. If the colony, when established, remains a part of the older nation, it is entitled to fair representation in the general government. It must then meet its proportionate share of the general expense.

What if a colony prefers to go alone rather than to be a part of the parent State? This was the question in the American Revolution. It was not easy at that time to link together the old country and the colonies under one government, which would have necessitated sending representatives to a Parliament thousands of miles away. The British government has long ago learned that its colonies flourish best when they are left practically to govern themselves as Canada and Australia do.

The duties of civilized nations to weaker or less civilized peoples. — The duties of nations to each other are complicated by the fact that large parts of the world

are still possessed by barbarous or half-civilized people. Such nations either do not recognize international obligations at all, or could not be depended upon to keep them.

Among so-called civilized nations, moreover, conduct is still often dictated by jealousy or enmity of other nations. There is thus a vast difference of level between the ideas, the customs, and the prosperity of different nations. It is therefore claimed by some that certain temporary guards and defences may have to be put up by the laws of a country against the operation of bad laws and customs elsewhere.

So, too, the serious misgovernment or anarchy of a half-civilized state, some think, may call for intervention from outside, not only for the interests of foreign residents, but also for the sake of the oppressed native people.

The strong nations must never again support one another in abusing the backward peoples, robbing them of their lands, and forcing them to work for their masters, as was once done in the Congo region. Are not these black people human like ourselves? Should they not choose what kind of government they desire and work out the civilization that fits them? Nothing is so dangerous to them and to ourselves as to meddle in their affairs, on the plea that we can bring them prosperity and happiness by force. Would our forefathers ever have thanked a stronger government for invading their country and imposing a foreign rule upon them?

Questions about immigration. — In view of the difference between the ideas, customs, and prosperity of different peoples, ought immigration from one country

to another to be free and unrestricted? It is feared by some Americans that the new people might come in such numbers as to swamp our institutions. It is feared lest their cheap labor will lower the wages of our own people. There are possible temporary difficulties about wholesale immigration. But, on the whole, is it not safe and well to trust men rather than to be afraid of them? The more intelligent and skillful we are ourselves the less we need to fear the competition of the newcomers.

The duties of nations toward the aborigines among them.—Most of the great nations have, either in their own territory or among their colonies, various barbarous tribes. Can such tribes be said justly to own the land over which they roam and hunt? Have they the right to prevent settlers from using the idle land? On the other hand, the native people have certain clear rights. The proper treatment of these rights is one of our difficult problems.

It is the duty of a nation to give the same respect to the tribes within its borders that it gives to other men. Its duty is to protect them in the rights which they have in common with all men; as, for instance, in ownership of the lands which they actually occupy or cultivate. It is a duty to bring education to their children, that they may adapt themselves to the new life about them. The natives ought to be allowed to acquire property on the same terms with others; and upon proper qualification they ought to be given a share in the government. On the contrary, it cannot be a duty to recognize these tribes as sovereign nations, and it is foolish to give them rations and presents, which degrade

and pauperize them. If, however, treaties are made with them, the treaties must be kept as scrupulously as if they were made with the great powers.

Our Indian wards. — There are more than a quarter of a million Indians, mostly in the Western States and in Alaska, with whom our Government has had peculiar relations.

Most of these Indians have had assigned to them *reservations*, or great tracts of land. Sometimes they have been removed to these reservations by our armies after a war; or the reservations have been secured by peaceful treaty on the part of our Government. Frequently the Government has also promised money or rations to support the Indians, or to pay them for giving up lands upon which the white people wanted to settle. Thus the Indians have been pushed farther west, and have been confined within narrower limits, while the buffaloes and game on which they once subsisted have disappeared.

The Government has appointed, through the office of the Secretary of the Interior, agents for the reservations, to furnish supplies and to look after the interests of the Indians, as if they were wards of the Nation. White persons are forbidden to settle upon the reservations or to trade with the Indians.

Our Government meant to do justly and to make the Indians comfortable. But we did not respect the Indians enough. We did not even take pains to keep our treaties. The reservation system made them miserable paupers. They came to depend upon the Government rations. They were often given very poor land, which they could not cultivate; and no individual had any land of his own. If they had anything to sell, they

were shut away by the boundary of the reservation from bringing it to market. If they were wronged, they could not go to court to obtain justice as citizens, or even as foreigners may. Often, too, the agent used his office to make himself rich by stealing some of the supplies meant for the Indians. Thus millions of dollars were expended in doing more harm than good.

New methods of treating the Indians. — The policy of the Government has been changed in several directions. Schools have been established in which to educate the Indian children in various industries. Plans have been made to divide their land and to give them land "in severalty," that is, private ownership of their farms, such as white men enjoy. As fast as this is done there will be no need of the reservations or the agents, but the Indians can go with their products to market, and can buy and sell like others. They can also go to the courts to get justice. They can have a vote and be citizens on the same conditions as others. There will not be tribes any longer, or chiefs, but the Indians, like the negroes in the South, will become a part of the Nation. The Indians and the negroes have suffered cruel injustice at the hands of white people. Do they not deserve special consideration and at least generous fair play?

CHAPTER XLVI

WAR AND PEACE; PATRIOTISM

War establishments. — In barbarous countries every free man was supposed to be a soldier; in most of the nations known as "civilized," a standing army has been kept even in times of peace. In some countries the army has numbered hundreds of thousands of men. Besides the enormous cost of supporting armies and their equipments, most nations have also maintained immense fortifications and fleets of warships. The preparation for war has been thought to be one of the chief duties of a government in time of peace. In fact, the larger part of the taxes of the nations, to the amount of billions of dollars a year, has gone for war expenses and to pay the interest of war debts. Surely this is not real civilization or humanity.

Excuses for war. — We can see better why men fought each other in the past than why they should continue to fight in the future. They began by fighting in personal quarrels. One tribe fought over its quarrels with another tribe or with strangers who invaded its country. When big empires were established, they rested mainly upon conquest. The warrior chief wanted the power, the spoils, and the slaves that victory would give him. So war came to be the custom of the Old World, as it became the custom for some men to get their living from the labor of others.

Good men also thought that war was necessary, sometimes to protect their country from aggression, sometimes to compel another nation to make reparation for an insult or injustice, sometimes to settle a question of territorial rights, sometimes even to defend their religion. The nations came to live in a state of fear and suspicion. It was always for the interest of some group of men in a nation to have the opportunity of war in which to make money. All these things made war "respectable."

Have not the nations been slow and dull to put up with the war system so long? Why should not nations do the same thing together which we long ago did in the United States? We set up a Supreme Court for all the States, and no State now thinks of fighting another. If a State does not like the decree of the Supreme Court, and even if the decision happens not to be perfectly just, there is no need to march an army into that State and compel it to obey. Give the State a little time and patience, and the people will choose of themselves to do right. Cannot all the nations do what we do so easily in our great union of States?

We have here the most important question before the world. War is too ruinous and inhuman to last. Now that the nations are becoming acquainted with each other, and each nation is setting up more democratic institutions, no necessity for war should remain. The various civilized peoples do not propose to attack one another or to destroy each other's liberties or institutions. Moreover, the world is now irresistibly becoming a great industrial commonwealth. Our interests are bound up together as never before. On the other

hand, war is more disastrous than ever to industry, to commerce, and to human happiness.

We may abhor war and yet learn lessons from it. There are certain virtues — courage, fidelity, patience, tenacity of purpose, and, more lately, sympathy and co-operation — which are brought to the front under the pressure of war. Indeed, every time of calamity by fire or flood, earthquake or plague, calls out men's physical and moral reserves. These fine manly powers are always wanted. They are produced every day in homes and schools and shops and on shipboard. War does not produce them, but only finds them. War, in fact, destroys the best and bravest men, the very men most needed continuously to build our democratic civilization.

Laws of war. — So long as men thought war to be a game of skill, and sometimes necessary, they made no effort to put an end to it, but merely to keep it within the rules of the game. The Great War has proved that laws of war are of little use. War is a system of anarchy, that is, the upsetting of law and order. New inventions, like the submarine and the aëroplane, and new efforts to stretch and strain the laws have added still further to the inexcusable atrocities of death and destruction, while the application of more wholesale methods of attack and resistance have claimed more colossal sacrifices of treasure and human life. How can men ever agree as to the just amount of ruin that nations may inflict upon one another in war? Why not rather agree to the abolition of armies and navies? A civilized world has no need of them. The weaker and the stronger nations alike will thus be safer than ever, and the oceans will be free for all ships.

Patriotism and the national flag. — It is natural that every person should have a special feeling toward his own country. If his forefathers have lived there, if the Nation has had a memorable history, if the laws and institutions have helped to secure freedom and prosperity, he may be expected to have a sense of affection and loyalty to his native land. This feeling is patriotism. It leads one to prefer the good of the whole country to the good of only one State. It removes the lines of north or south, and east or west, since all sections belong to the common country.

Patriotism also leads a citizen to wish to see his nation strong, prosperous, and honored among the family of nations. The national flag is the emblem of the common government and, with Americans, of the union of all the States. The patriot loves to see it flying over the public buildings and on ships in distant ports.

A citizen's duty and responsibility bind him to his own country, as family ties bind him to be faithful to his relatives. But while patriotism urges us to seek the interest of our own country, it never requires us to serve our own country to the injury or loss of other nations. It is not patriotism to cry, "My country, right or wrong," or to help and uphold one's government in doing injustice to another country. Patriotism makes us wish to see our Nation strong, but it ought not to make us wish to see other nations poor and unhappy; would it not be mean to wish for the victory of one's own crew in a boat-race by reason of an accident to some one in the other crew?

Citizens by adoption. — Patriotism does not require a citizen to be a native of his country. Thus, millions of

people have emigrated to America, choosing to make this land their home. Many of these people have been poor or oppressed in their native land, and have come here to seek equal rights. These citizens of foreign birth often feel a peculiar patriotism toward the new land, which has given them a home and the privileges of citizenship on generous terms. They have repeatedly proved their loyalty to the land of their adoption; but a man need not cease to love his old home and his native land because he makes a new home across the sea.

The common humanity.—Civilization means that men like each other more, the better they are acquainted. Religion teaches the same. While the ignorant and bad distrust or fear each other, the intelligent and noble see the good in strangers and foreigners. To use a fine old Roman saying, they deem that *nothing human is foreign*. As we find out, therefore, that no State in our Union can suffer without the other States suffering also, since all are bound up together, so we learn that no country in the world can be poor or wretched alone, for the interests of all men are alike.

Internationalism.—As we learn to respect and to love good people who have come here from Italy and Ireland and Russia and every other land, so we learn to respect the people in all the different lands from which our new citizens have come. We cannot bear to quarrel with them. This feeling on the part of each nation to the others is “internationalism.” It is the good fruit of patriotism. The better our patriotism the stronger grows our humanity, and the more humanity we have the purer will be our patriotism.

Summary.—We have seen that all matters of business or government are interwoven with questions of right and wrong. No one can even make a mistake or blunder, much less do an injustice, in the conduct of his affairs, without spreading harm or loss to others. On the other hand, no one conquers honest success for himself alone. Much more in politics, the wrongdoing or negligence of a single individual reacts against the welfare of the whole State, as the public spirit of one or a few keeps the State safe. But it is often costly to do right, and the gain seems far away or likely to come to others, but not to oneself; while the wrong promises for the present to be more easy and convenient. So, when one is building a house, if he thinks only of the present labor and expense, it is cheaper not to put in an honest foundation and sound timber; but if he thinks of others, foresees the coming storms, and understands the laws of architecture, the right way to build seems then the only possible one.

A bit of philosophy.—There are various reasons given why we ought to do right. Some of them are long and difficult to understand; but one thing is certain and simple, although very wonderful. There is in every right-minded person a conscience, or sense of duty, which urges us, as soon as we are shown what is right, to do it; or, when a thing seems wrong, to refuse it. If, then, we disobey conscience and do selfish, unjust, disgraceful, or base things, we presently lose the power and will to do right, as the tree that is bent loses the power to grow straight. It is as if a disease had seized us, bringing pain, blindness, and decay. On the other hand, if we follow the bidding of conscience, strength,

restfulness, and gladness attend us. Conscience is the organ of a man's moral health and soundness, like the heart which governs the circulation of his blood.

Conscience also binds us, through just and friendly acts, to cordial, generous, and helpful relations with our fellow men. It will not let us hate, despise, or desert them. Thus, as each man's conscience has free course, human society works together in health and happiness. But disobedience to conscience separates us from each other, and locks us up each one by himself, like prisoners in their solitary cells. When anyone's conscience is repressed, it is as if one of the little valves of a great engine failed to work.

This is not all. Duty is one of the great and constant forces of the universe. It is stronger than any man, or all the men who live. Whoever obeys it, though no one else is with him, is sustained, as if the universe were on his side. For we know that whatever is right, or ought to be done, must come in the end; those who help it will succeed; those who resist it will fail and be forgotten. For justice and right are at the foundation of the world. We must do right, then, if we want to go with the victorious forces that make life and health for each individual and for all mankind.

The higher conscience. — There are two kinds of conscience in men. One kind is like an engine built to draw a train on a level track. It simply keeps one up to the duties which habit, custom, convenience, or expediency requires. The man with this lower power of conscience is apt to ask at every question or crisis: What will other men say or do?

The higher kind of conscience is like the powerful

engine which can lift its load up a steep grade. It does not go by convenience, but by the persuasion of right. It does not ask what the custom is, but what it ought to be; not what others do, but what is just. The men and women who have this kind of conscience are those who help make the Nation strong; out of their number come the heroes, reformers, and statesmen. The true religion back of all the man-made forms of religion shines out in this kind of conscience.

REFERENCES

This list is brief, in view of the immense number of available books and other material, to which additions are constantly made. Many useful books are already in school and public libraries. All standard encyclopedias contain much pertinent matter. Excellent articles may often be found in current magazines and newspapers. The card catalogues of various libraries give considerable lists of books in every branch of the subjects which this book touches. There are also various associations, like the National Municipal League, headquarters in Philadelphia; The National Civil Service Reform League, in New York City; The American Proportional Representation League, in Haverford, Pa. These and many others publish valuable journals and addresses upon their special lines of enterprise and are glad to furnish information to persons who write to them.

A vast amount of all kinds of important statistical matters — the list of members of Congress, of the Federal Judges, and of the Interstate Commerce and other Commissions — may be found in certain almanacs, as *The World Almanac*.

The teacher may occasionally add to the interest of his class by arranging to have a talk from some official person about the duties of his office. It may be that a Congressman or a member of the Legislature can visit the school.

The following books will illustrate the wealth of material upon which students may draw.

The State. Woodrow Wilson. D. C. Heath & Co.

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